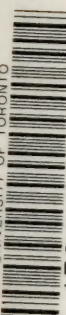


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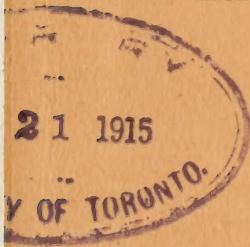
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A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND
LITERATURE IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

(DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH)



BY

WILLIAM FRANK BRYAN

The Collegiate Press

GEORGE BANTA PUBLISHING COMPANY
MENASHA, WISCONSIN

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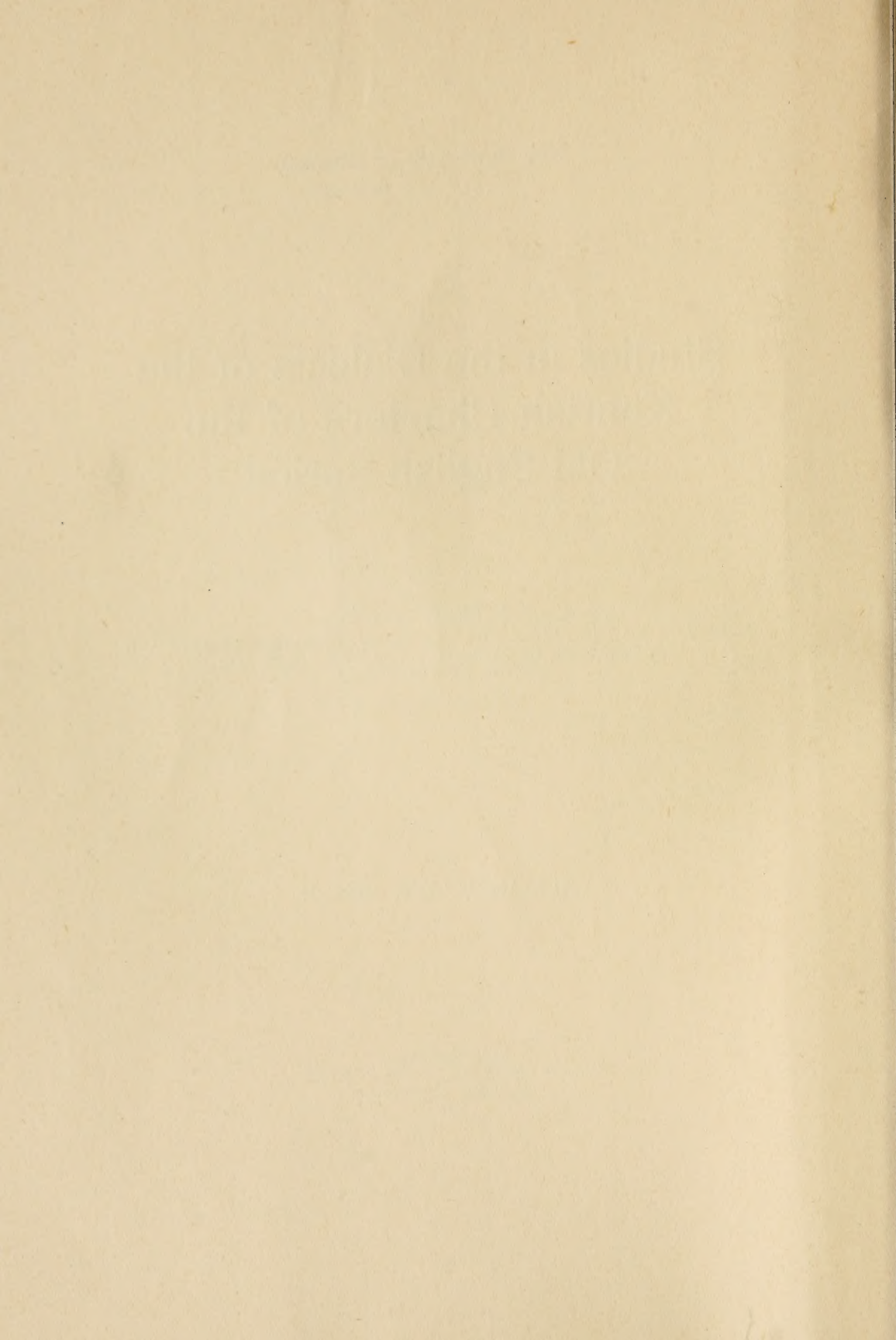
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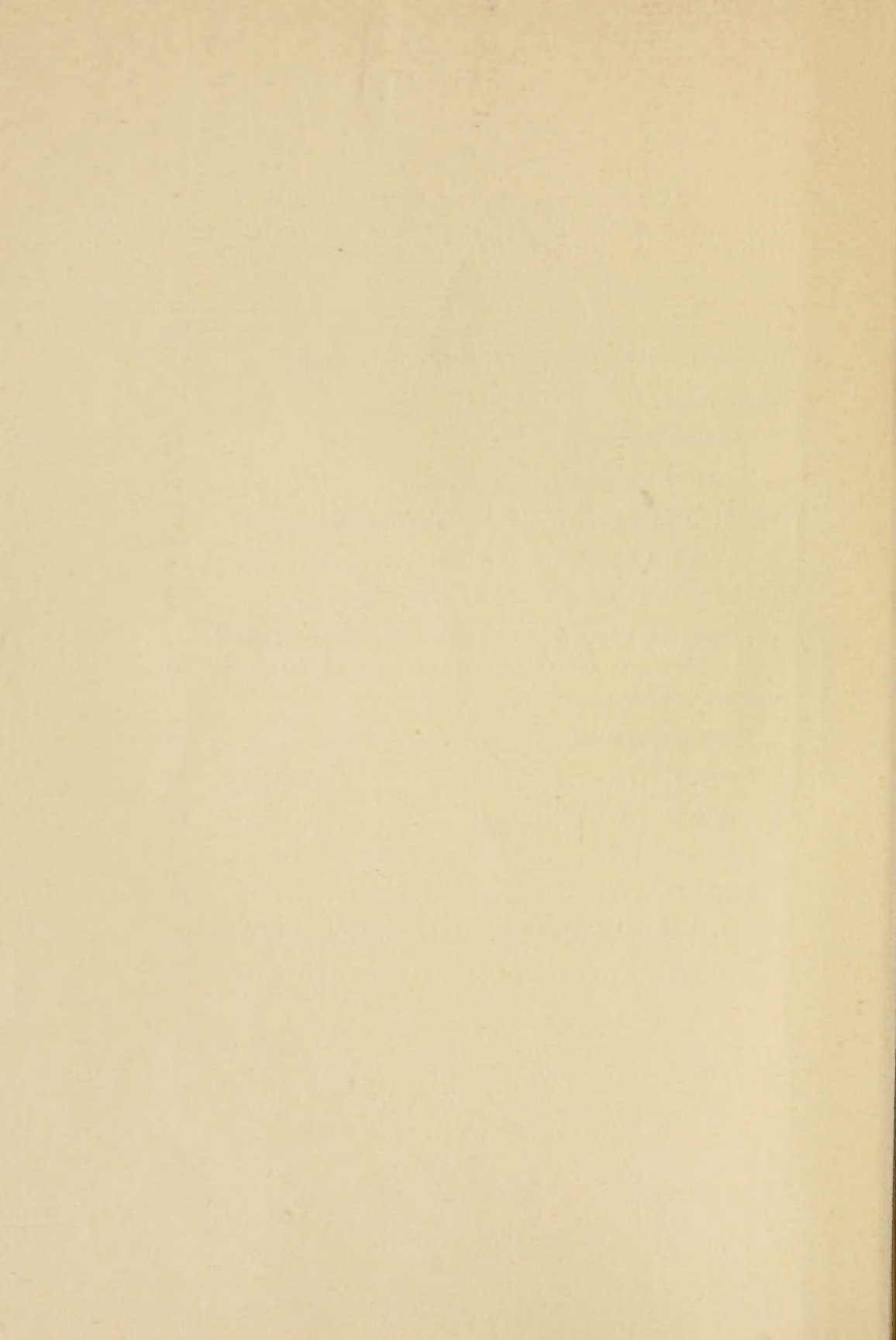
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CONTENTS

| | PAGE |
|---|------|
| INTRODUCTION: Purpose and materials of the study | v |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY: | |
| Selected bibliography | ix |
| The charters studied | xi |
| PART I: Phonology, stressed vowels and diphthongs | |
| Group I, Charters I-V (679-765) | 1 |
| Group II, Charters VI-XXVI (798-868) | 2 |
| Group III, Charters XXVII-XXXII (before 958-1044-48) | 11 |
| PART II: The dialects of the charters | |
| Criteria of dialects | 20 |
| Group I | 20 |
| Group II | 21 |
| Group III | 25 |
| Summary | 28 |
| PART III: Explanation of the presence of foreign forms | 29 |
| Summary | 39 |



INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the following study in the Kentish charters of the Old English period is threefold: first, to arrange in chronological order all the original charters of presumably purely Kentish origin dating from before the Norman Conquest, and to present the phonology of the stressed vowels and diphthongs in the charters so arranged; second, to examine these presumably Kentish documents for non-Kentish dialect forms; and, finally, to try to account for the presence of such forms if they are found in any considerable proportion.

The execution of the first of these purposes has seemed worth while, since the only study¹ of the body of Kentish charters that has been made thus far did not consider any document of later date than 947, and grouped together as material for examination all the Kentish charters included in the first two volumes of Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum* without discriminating between original charters, genuine copies of original charters, and wholly spurious documents. It is obvious that the last two classes do not constitute a satisfactory foundation for an accurate study, and that the inclusion of forms drawn from them with others drawn from original documents tends to invalidate conclusions based on such an ill-assorted body of material.

In the present study, the intention has been to consider only original documents in which both parties concerned in the grant were Kentish and the property involved was situated in Kent. Personal names have not been considered, as the forms in which they occur are notoriously untrustworthy as material for the study of dialects.²

The charters examined are accessible in facsimile reproduction with transcription in the collection issued by the British Museum

¹ R. Wolff, *Untersuchung der Laute in den kentischen Urkunden*; Heidelberg, 1893.

² For example, in the Northumbrian MSS. of Bede's History smoothing is complete except in the case of the names of three persons of Kentish origin (cf. Chadwick, *Studies in Old English* pp. 8-9). Since in Canterbury, the seat of the recognized primacy of all England, clerics of other than Kentish nationality were very likely to be found, personal names in documents emanating thence are particularly liable to present non-Kentish forms.

under the editorship of E. A. Bond, or in that issued by the Ordnance Survey Commission under the editorship of W. B. Sanders. Most of the charters dated before the end of the ninth century are transcribed in Sweet's *Oldest English Texts*, and all those dated before 975 are in Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum*. For the determination of the originality of the charters, statements upon this subject made in the *Cartularium*, in *Oldest English Texts*, and by the editors of the Museum facsimiles have been compared. There is unanimity as to the originality of the charters until the year 868 (Nos. I-XXVI) except in the cases of Nos. II, XII, XIV, and XX. The editors of the Museum facsimiles place MS. Cot. Aug. II. 88, one of the two manuscripts of No. II, in the ninth century, though they date the grant itself 700 or 715; the editor of the Ordnance Survey facsimiles, in which is reproduced MS. Ashburnham Stowe 1, the second manuscript of this charter, makes no statement as to its originality; but *Oldest English Texts* and the *Cartularium* accept both manuscripts as contemporaneous with the grant. Nos. XII, XIV, and XX are preserved in the Ashburnham MSS. reproduced in the Ordnance Survey facsimiles. The editor of this collection did not undertake to determine the originality of the documents comprising it, and these three charters are not included in *Oldest English Texts*; but in the *Cartularium* they are declared to be originals. Nos. XXVII and XXVIII, belonging to the tenth century, are naturally not included in *Oldest English Texts*; they are, however, accepted by the editors of the Museum facsimiles, and are pronounced originals in the *Cartularium*. Nos. XXIX-XXXII are dated later than 975, and consequently, are not in the *Cartularium* or in *Oldest English Texts*; they are, however, accepted as originals by the editors of the Museum collection. The charters accessible only in the Ordnance Survey facsimiles have been excluded from this study for the reason already given, namely, that the editor has made no determination of the genuineness and originality of the documents contained in that collection.

The charters investigated fall into three groups: the first comprising five documents dating 679-765 and written mainly in Latin but containing a few English words, mostly particles and place names; the second including twenty-one documents dated 798-868?, many of considerable length and written wholly in English; and

the third consisting of six documents dating from some time before 958 to about 1044, all of some length and written in English. In the presentation of the phonology of these charters, each group has been considered separately and each document within its group has been taken up in chronological order. In the presentation of the stressed vowels and diphthongs and of the various sound changes suffered by them, the arrangement adopted by Bülbring in his *Altenglisches Elementarbuch* has been followed with very slight modifications. The numbers at the heads of the various subdivisions refer to the numbered sections in the *Elementarbuch*.

The second stage of this study, the examination of the charters for non-Kentish forms and the particular presentation of such forms, was made advisable because of the recognition by such scholars as Bülbring³ and Chadwick⁴ that the dialect of these charters is not pure Kentish. The charters to which Bülbring particularly refers are the considerable group of documents written in the first half of the ninth century; the charters of the first half of the eleventh century, written some time after Wessex had gained supremacy over all England, are even less purely Kentish than are the earlier ones.

The final stage of this investigation, the attempt to account satisfactorily for the presence of non-Kentish forms in charters of

³ *Altenglisches Elementarbuch* §21: "Aus der ersten Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts haben wir eine Reihe frühkentischer Urkunden, die jedoch mit mercischen Formen durchsetzt sind."

⁴ *Studies in Old English* p. 91. After discussing some of the differences between the dialects of the earlier and of the later Kentish charters, Chadwick speaks of the dialect of the earlier charters as "being closely related to the Midland and the Northumbrian dialects, while the affinities of the former [i. e. the later charters] were apparently with West Saxon." He continues: "Such a change of dialect might be explained in two ways: I. There may have been two distinct dialects in Kent from the beginning, one, which belonged originally perhaps to the Eastern part (Canterbury and its neighborhood), at first prevailing but being eventually ousted by the other, which perhaps belonged to the districts bordering on Surrey and Sussex. II. The dialect of the earlier charters may not have been true Kentish at all but a literary or court language of chiefly Midland complexion though modified by local characteristics; this may in time have given place to the native dialect, which is therefore to be seen in the later charters. The latter explanation seems to me the more probable since the time covered by those charters which show a dialect of the first type coincides approximately with the period of Mercian supremacy, which lasted (with intermissions) from Wulfhere to Coenwulf."

purely Kentish local character, is a necessary consequent of the preceding step. The assumption that forms found in Kentish documents are not native to Kent must be supported by evidence that will show how the foreign forms could find their way into these documents. The attempt to present such evidence naturally concludes this study.

* * *

For their uniform courtesy and helpfulness I wish to express my gratitude to many of the officers and attendants of the Newberry Library. I wish also to acknowledge appreciatively my indebtedness to Professors F. A. Wood and F. A. Blackburne. My deepest sense of indebtedness and of gratitude, however, both for criticism and encouragement is to Professor J. M. Manly.

Evanston, Ill., February 1, 1914.

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The following list of abbreviated titles includes only such as are not readily self-explanatory:

- C. S.*—*Cartularium Saxonicum* ed. Birch.
- B. M. F.*—*Facsimiles of Ancient Charters in the British Museum* ed. Bond.
- O. E. T.*—*Oldest English Texts* ed. Sweet.
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Unless otherwise specified, the references to Bülbring are to his *Altenglisches Elementarbuch*, and those to Sievers to his *Angelsächsische Grammatik*.

THE CHARTERS STUDIED

- I 679. King Hlotharius of Kent grants land at Westanae in the Isle of Thanet to Abbot Berewald of Reculver. Cot. Aug. II 2; C. S. 45; O. E. T. 4.
- II 697.¹ King Wihtred of Kent grants land in Kent to the Church of St. Mary at Liming. (a) Ashburnham Stowe 1; C. S. 97. (b) Cot. Aug. II 88; C. S. 98; O. E. T. 5.
- III 732. King Æthilberht of Kent grants lands at Liming and Sandtun, Kent, to Abbot Dun. Cot. Aug. II 91; C. S. 148; O. E. T. 6.
- IV (741 for) 740? King Æthilbert of Kent grants a fishery on the River Limen to Liming Monastery. Cot. Aug. II 101; C. S. 160; O. E. T. 7.
- V about 765. King Eardulf of Kent grants land at Perhamstede, Kent, to Heaberhet, abbot of Reculver. Ashburnham Stowe 3B; C. S. 199; O. E. T. 8.
- VI 798? Duke Osuulf grants to Liming Monastery the land at Hremping Wic and Hafing Seota, Kent, previously granted to him by Coenwulf of Mercia.² Cot. Aug. II 97; C. S. 289; O. E. T. 19.
- VII 805x806. King Cuthred of Kent grants land at Heagyðe ðorne (Eythorne), Kent, to the prefect Æðelnoð. Ashburnham Stowe 7; Cot. Aug. II 100; C. S. 318; O. E. T. 34.
- VIII 805x831. Will of Æðelnoð, disposing of the land granted to him in No. VII and providing for reversion of it to Archbishop Wulfred. Ashburnham Stowe 7; C. S. 318; O. E. T. 34.

¹ B. M. F. and O. E. T., following Kemble, give to this document the date 700 or 715, while C. S. dates it as above. Birch's note (p. 142) is: "Kemble's date is '700 or 715'; the indiction 'XIII^{ma}' here written is evidently an error caused by misreading the 'm' of Xma in the previous document."

² This grant is added below the names of the witnesses in a charter of Coenwulf to Osuulf, and is apparently contemporaneous with this charter. It is included without comment in O. E. T. 19 as a part of this charter. The Osuulf of this grant is apparently the same person as in No. IX below.

- IX 805x810. Will of Aldorman Osuulf and his wife Beornðryð, granting land at Stanham Stede (Stansted), Kent, to Christ Church, Canterbury. Cot. Aug. II 79; C. S. 330; O. E. T. 37.
- X 805x810. Recital and confirmation by Archbishop Wulfred of the will of Osuulf and Beornðryð. Cot. Aug. II 79; C. S. 330; O. E. T. 37.
- XI 811. Archbishop Wulfred and Christ Church Monastery exchange lands in Kent. Cot. Aug. II 47; C. S. 332; O. E. T. 35.
- XII 824. Archbishop Wulfred recovers land in Kent which had been withheld from him by the abbess Quoenðryð. Ashburnham Stowe 12; C. S. 378.³
- XIII (824 for) 834? Archbishop Wulfred grants land at Seeldesford (Shelford), Kent, to the *familia* in Canterbury. Cot. Aug. II 72; C. S. 380; O. E. T. 36.
- XIV 824. Archbishop Wulfred grants to Christ Church land at Eagyðe ðorn (Eythorne) and Longean Dun (Langdon), Kent, in exchange for land at Beorham (Barham) and Suiðberhting Lond, also in Kent. Ashburnham Stowe 13; C. S. 381.³
- XV 831? Agreement between Ealzburg and Eadweald as to rents to be paid to Christ Church from land "et Burnan" (Bishop's Bourn), Kent. Cot. Aug. II 52; C. S. 403; O. E. T. 39.
- XVI 831? Charge upon land at ðenglesham (Finglesham), Kent, granted by Ealhhere to Christ Church. Cot. Aug. II 52; C. S. 403; O. E. T. 39.
- XVII 831? Ratification of the title of Eadwald Oshering to land at Cert (Chart), Kent, inherited from Aldorman Eðelmod. Cot. Aug. II 19; C. S. 404; O. E. T. 38.
- XVIII (832 for) 833. Charges upon land [at Mundlingham, Kent], granted by Lufa to Christ Church. Cot. Aug. II 92; C. S. 405; O. E. T. 40.
- XIX (832 for) 833. Confirmation by Lufa of charges upon her land at Mundlingham, Kent, in favor of Christ Church. Cot. Aug. II 92; C. S. 405; O. E. T. 40.
- XX (831 for) 833. Archbishop Ceolnoð grants to the *familia* at Canterbury land at Longan Dun (Langdon), Kent. Stowe Charters 15; C. S. 406.³

³ This charter is not in O. E. T., and no statement as to its originality is made by the editor of the Ordnance Survey Facsimiles, in which it is published. It is, accordingly, included on the not wholly sufficient authority of Birch, who declares it to be an original document.

- XXI about 833. Will of the reeve Abba, granting reversion of his land to Christ Church. Cot. Aug. II 64; C. S. 412; O. E. T. 41.
- XXII about 833. Charges upon the land at Cealfloca (Challock), Kent, granted by Heregyð, wife of the reeve Abba, to Christ Church. Cot. Aug. II 64; C. S. 412; O. E. T. 41.
- XXIII 837. Will of Badanoð Beotting, granting reversion of his land to Christ Church. Cot. Aug. II 42; C. S. 417; O. E. T. 42.
- XXIV 859. Eðelmod grants to Plegred land at Wilburgewell, Kent. Cot. Aug. II 16; C. S. 497; O. E. T. 43.
- XXV 863?⁴ Eadwald grants land at Wifeles Berg, Kent, to St. Augustine's. Charter in Canterbury Cathedral M. 14; C. S. 507; O. E. T. 30.
- XXVI (888 for) 868. Contemporary endorsement on a grant of land in Canterbury from Cialulf to Eanmund. Cot. Aug. II 17; C. S. 519; O. E. T. 44.
- XXVII before 958. Æðelwyrd bequeathes to Eadrie land at Geochem (Ickham), Kent, subject to rents to Christ Church Monastery. Stowe Charter 26; C. S. 1010.
- XXVIII before 958. Appropriation by Eadrie of land granted in the preceding document. Stowe Charter 26; C. S. 1010.
- XXIX before 988. The title of St. Andrew's, Rochester, to land at Wulda Ham (Woldham), Kent. Cotton Charter VIII 20; B. M. F. Part III, plate 24.
- XXX 1038. Controversy between Christ Church and St. Augustine's over the customs dues at Sandwich, Kent. Cot. Aug. II 90; B. M. F. Part IV, plate 20.
- XXXI 1044x48. Record of title of Godric to land at Offa Ham (Offham), Kent. Cot. Aug. II 35; B. M. F. Part IV, plate 28.
- XXXII 1044. Archbishop Eadsige grants land at Cert to Ægelric, with reversion to Christ Church. Cot. Aug. II 70; B. M. F. Part IV, plate 27.

⁴ This grant is written below the list of witnesses in a charter of Eðelbearht, King of Wessex, to Prince Eðelred; the charter is dated 863.

PART I

CHARTERS I-V, DATED 679-765

West Germanic *ǣ*, West Saxon *ǣ* > *ǣ*. (§91)

II *paed* (for *paēð*); V *caestruuara*.

West Germanic *ā*, West Saxon *ā* > *ē*. (§96)

II *stretleg* (place name)

West Germanic *au* > *ēa*. (§§107-108)

V *heahhaam* (place name)

West Germanic *eu* > *ēo*. (§§109-114)

III *fleot*¹ (part of place name)

Nasalization of *ǣ*. (§123)

III *Sandtun*.¹

Breaking. (§§130-147)

This group of charters contains no forms in which breaking might occur.

Diphthongization of Palatal Vowels through Preceding Palatal Consonants. (§§148-157)

In the only form in which such diphthongization might occur, it is not apparent: V *caestruuara*.

i-umlaut. (§§158-192)

ā > *ē*: V *tenid* (Isle of Thanet)

au > *āe*, *āeae*, *āee*: II *limingae*;² IV *Liminiæae*, *liminiæe*.

Smoothing. (§§193-208)

ǣa > *ē*: I *recuulf*;³ V *Ricuulfi* (?)

āo (*āa*) > *ē* or remains unsmoothed as *ēa*: II *stretleg*;⁴ V *heahhaam*.

¹ *Fleot* and *Sandtun* occur only in the statement of an additional grant inserted between the date and the list of witnesses. So far as I can judge from the British Museum facsimiles, the handwriting of this additional grant is the same as that of the charter proper, though it is somewhat clearer. This additional grant, however, is not included in O. E. T.

² Cf. Chadwick, pp. 26, 3 and 94, ii.

³ *Reculver*. That the Old English vowel was originally *ǣ* is proved from the following forms cited from O. E. T.: *racuulfe*, B. H. 346; *reacolvensae*, Ct. 35 l. 7; *reculfa*, *reculfo*, Ct. 58 l. 4. In charter No. V of this present study, the name is written *Ricuulfi*, the *ī* of which I am unable to account for except as a misspelling. It should be mentioned that in No. XV *ē* occurs instead of normal *ī* in *speces*. It is also worth mention here that in No. I the personal name *Bercwald* shows smoothing.

⁴ In *-leg*, *ē* may be due to weakness of stress instead of to smoothing.

Contractions through Loss of *h*. (§§212-225)

$\check{a}/h/u > \check{a}e$, $\check{a}ea$, $\check{a}a$: I *UUestan ae*; II *Liminaea*; III *Liminaee*;⁵
IV *Liminaa*.

u-, *ā-*, *w-*umlaut. (§§226-259)

This group of charters contains no forms in which *u-* or *w-*umlaut would occur. *ā*-umlaut is lacking in II *-seta*; V *caestruuara*.

CHARTERS VI-XXVI, DATED 798-868(?)

West Germanic \check{a} , West Saxon $\check{a} > \check{a}$ ($\check{a}e$), \check{e} , \check{y} . (§91)

VI *at*; VII *at*; VIII *at*, δat , and—corresponding to West Saxon *a*—*massa*, *ælmeslic*; *hwæðer*;⁶ IX δat , *at*, *ðaes*, *ðætta*, and *aelmessan*; X *ðat*, *dages*, *at*, *mæge*, *hwæder*, *aefterfylgendum*, and *aelmessan*; δet , *ðette*, *hwæder*, and *messepriost*, *messen*; XI *æt*, δat ; *et*; XII *at*; XIII *at*; XV without exception *e*—*et*, *hwet*, *scel*, δet , *dei*, *dege*; XVI *ðes*, *et*, and *elmesse*; *nas*;⁷ XVII δet , *et*, *wes*, *ðes*, *dege*, and *elmeðlicast*; *yfter*;⁸ XVIII *dæt*; *wes*, *et*, *forgef*, and *elmes*;

⁵ *Liminaee* occurs twice: once in "*juxta Liminaee*" in the charter proper, and once in "*fluvius qui dicitur Liminaee*" in the same additional grant in which *fleot* and *Sandtun* occur (cf. note 1.). Chadwick, p. 94, II, considers *-aee* in "*juxta Liminaee*" to be the result of contraction of the *i*-umlaut of broken \check{a} with \check{i} . I should consider *Liminaee* in both instances to be the name of the stream, and *-aee* to be the result of contraction of \check{a} broken before *h* with a following velar vowel. In the second instance, certainly, there can hardly be any *i*-umlaut.

⁶ Or is \check{e} the vowel of *hwæðer*? Cf. O. H. G. *hweder*, O. Sax. *hwēðar*.

⁷ \check{a} instead of usual \check{e} (\check{e}) in *nas* may be merely a miswriting, or it may represent a sound due to weakness of stress.

⁸ *yfter*, which in this charter occurs twice instead of *efter* (*aefter*), is probably a misspelling due to the Kentish development $\check{y} > \check{e}$; the conflict between traditional spelling and phonetic spelling easily leads to a confusion of symbols. If this explanation is correct, so far as documents of unmixed Kentish provenience are concerned, *yfter* in this charter is the earliest evidence of the change $\check{y} > \check{e}$ (the charter is dated 831 in O. E. T.)

Similar evidence is presented by three other documents dated before 850. The first of these is an endorsement upon a grant of land at Warehorne, Kent, by Ecgbert of Wessex (C. S. 396), the date in the instrument itself being 845 but corrected by Kemble to 830. In this occurs *geberigað* (for West Saxon *gebyrigað*). The second is the will of Abba (No. XXI below), dated about 833, in which *sylfum* occurs twice instead of *selfum*. The third is a grant of land in Canterbury by Æðelwulf of Wessex (C. S. 426), dated 839, in which is *twygen* for normal *twegen*. The evidence of the Ecgbert and the Æðelwulf documents, however, is not altogether free from suspicion. In the

XIX *ðet*, *et*, and *elmessan*; XXI *þæt*, *æfter*, *dæge*, *æt*, *begæt*, *hwæder*, *hwæt*; *mege* (pres. opt.), *dege*, and *messepreoste*; XXII *ðæt*; *deg*, *et*, *efter*; XXIII *begæt*, *æfter*, *æt*, *ðæt*, and *almeslic*; *ðet*, *fere*, *et*, *dege*, *dei*, *megen* (pres. opt.), *ðes*; XXV *þet*, *et*, and *elmessum*.

West Germanic *ě*. (§92)

West Germanic *ě* appears regularly as *ě*, but in the following instances it appears as *ǣ* (*ǣe*); IX *aedleane*, *gǣfe*; X *gǣfe*, *forecuaedenan*, *agǣfe* (also *agefe*); XXI *wærgeld*, *swæstar*.⁹ In XXI it appears as *y* in *sylfum*.¹⁰

West Germanic *ĩ*. (§§93 and 98)

West Germanic *ĩ* appears regularly as *ĩ*; No. XV, however, has *spices* instead of normal *spices*.

West Germanic *ā*, West Saxon *ā* > *ǣ*, *ē*. (§96)

VIII *suā*; *were*, *sprece*; IX *ðær*, *wæron*, *suā*; X *scǣp*, *caeses*, *wæge*, *cæsa*, *suae*, *ðar*, *suǣsenda*; *red*, *arede*, *suesendum*; XI *Magonsetum*; XV *gere*, *wege*, *cese*, *mege*; XVI *gere*, *sue*; XVII *meihanda*, *swe*, *were*, *meghond*; XVIII *wāga*; *gere*, *ceses*, *mega*, *sue*; XXI *swā*, *scāpa*, *māgas*, *þær*, *sāle*, *sāleð*; *megas*, *gere*, *wega*, *ceses*, *scep*, *ðer*, *gesele*; XXII *weg*, *ceses*, *blodlese*; XXIII *swā*, *swǣsendum*, *ðær*; *medwe*, *red*; XXIV *stret*, *medum*, and compounds of *med*-; XXV *leedome* (for *lecedome*); XXVI *mege*.

Egberht charter, *geberigað* occurs not in the body but in an endorsement following the list of witnesses and written in a different hand. Further, this charter, though not specifically rejected from O. E. T., is not included therein; and the editor of the Ordnance Survey facsimiles, in which it is reproduced, does not state whether it is an original document. Birch in the *Cartularium* pronounces it an original charter. The *Æðelwulf* charter is included in O. E. T. (No. 24), and according to Sweet (O. E. T. p. 424) is approved by the later consideration of Mr. Thompson, one of the editors of the British Museum facsimiles, by whom it was once condemned. But the numerous faulty spellings make one hesitate to base conclusions upon the forms found in this charter. However, even if the Egberht and the *Æðelwulf* charters are rejected, the Eadwald and the Abba documents are free from suspicion. Accordingly it is evident that the Kentish change *ȳ* > *ē* had taken place or was taking place before the middle of the 9th century.

⁹ *swæstar* is apparently miswritten for *swæstra*, as it is preceded by the genitive plural *minra*. Absence of *u*-umlaut in this form is phonological.

¹⁰ In *sylfum*, *y* for normal *ě* is the result of confusion in the use of the symbols *y*, *e* which resulted from the Kentish change of *ȳ* into *ē*. Cf. note 8 and Bülbring, *Beiblatt* IX pp. 95 f.

West Germanic *ē*. (§97)

West Germanic *ē* appears regularly as *ē*, except that in No. X it appears as *ae* in *haer*.

West Germanic *au* > *ēa*, *ēo* (once). (§§107-108)

VIII *Eastorege*; IX *aedleane*, *eaðmodnisse*; XI *Easterege*; *Eosterege*; XIII *Eastræge*; XVI *bebead*; XVIII *smeagende*; XXIII *lean*; XXV *leanie*.

West Germanic *eu* > *ēo*, *īa*. (§§109-114)

X *bebeode*; XV *bebeode* (pres. opt.); *bebiade* (pres. ind.); XIX *bebiade*; XXI *bebeode*, *feower*; *liofre*; XXII *feower*; XXIII *bebeode*, *beode*, *leofast*; *liofast*; XXV *beode*. Corresponding to West Saxon forms with *ēo* are the following: VIII *priost*; X *priost*; XXI *messepreost*.

West Germanic *iū* > *īo*, *ēo*, *ēa*.¹¹ (§§109-114)

X *iow*; XXI *gestrionen*; XXII *bibeadeð*; XXV *iow*; *ew*.

Nasalization of *ǣ*. (§123)

VIII *land* (one occurrence); *lond* (four occurrences), *ðonne*, *mon*, *on*; IX *Aldormonn*, *ond*, *lond*, *on*, *monna*, *gesomnuncga*; X *ðonne*, *mon*, *lond*, *ombra*, *ond*; XI *lond*, *on*; XIII *lond*, *on*;¹² XIV *Longan duun*, *lond*; XV *lande*, *man*, *ambra*, *an*, *naman*; *mon*, *lond*; XVI *man*, *landes*, *an*; *on*, *ðonne*; XVII *meihanda*, *ðanne*; *aldormonnes*, *lond(e)*, *ðonne*, *ond*, *meghond*; XVIII *ambra*, *and*;¹³ *mon*, *lond*; XIX *erfeland*, *an*, *mannum*, *man*, *naman*; XX *Langan-dun* (six occurrences); *Longandun* (one occurrence); XXI *land*, *man*, *an*, *ganganne*, *ansundran*, *inganniges*, *ambra*, *ann*, *wiððan*; *mon(n)*, *lond*, *þonne*; XXII *mannum*; *londes*, *on*, *ðonne*, *noman*, *monn*; XXIV *an*, *land*; XXV *lond*; XXVI *handseten*.

Breaking.¹⁴ (§§130-147)

ī before *r*+consonant > *ēo*.

XXI *weorðe* (also miswritten *weorde*).

ē before *r*+consonant > *ēo*, *īo*.

VIII *geweorðe*, *geleornie*; *wiorð*; IX *geuueorðia*; X *geuueorðia*;

¹¹ See also under *i*-umlaut of *iū*, *īo*, p. 8 below.

¹² In contemporary endorsement.

¹³ In this document the symbol > is usually written for the conjunction *and* (*ond*), though once *and* is written and once *end*. The latter form may owe its vowel to *i*-umlaut and correspond to O. Sax. *endi*, O. H. G. *enti*, or *e* instead of *a* may result from weak sentence stress.

¹⁴ Cf. also under Smoothing and *i*-umlaut.

XXI *geornliocar*, *sweorde*; XXII *feorme*; XXIII *gefeormien*.

ǣ before *r*+consonant > ěa, ěo, ǣ.

VIII *bearn*; IX *bearna*; *towardon*;¹⁵ X *gegeorwien*, *reogolweord*; *reogolward*;¹⁶ XI *Geardcylle*; XVII *beorn*; *barna*; XVIII *ðearfe*; XXI *bearnes*, *bearn*, *pearfa*, *ærfeweard*; XXIII *ærfewearda*, *bearn(a)*, *ðearf*; XXIV *norðe-suðeweardum*.

ě before *χ* > ěa, ěo.

XVI *fiah*; XVII *feoh*, *reoh*te.

ǣ before *χ* > ěa.

X *weax*; XVIII *geðeah*te.

ě before *th* occasionally becomes ěo, ěo.

VIII *seolfa*; XXI *siolf*;¹⁷ XXIII *siolfne*.

ǣ before *ll*, *l*+consonant > ěa, ǣ.

VIII *alre*, *halfe*; IX *Aldormonn*, *allmehtgum*, *saldon*; X *all*; XIV *wald*; XV *eald*, *healda*, *healdenne*, *mealtes*, *ealra*; XVI *ealra*; XVII *aldormonnes*, *salde*; XVIII *maltes*; XIX *seald*, *healdan*, *gehealden*; XXI *gehalden*, *half*, *maltes*; XXII *ald*, *saltes*; *Cealflocan* (place name); XXIII *allmehtgum*, *all*; XXIV *halfne* (one occurrence); *healfne* (four occurrences); XXVI *sealde*.

Diphthongization of Palatal Vowels through Preceding Palatal Consonants. (§§148-157)

Diphthongization of palatal vowels is consistently lacking. VIII *forfelde*; IX *gæfe*; X *caeses*, *cæsa*, *gæfe*, *agæfe*, *agefe*, *scæp*; XIII *Sceldes Forda* (place name); XV *gere*, *scel*, *cese*; XVI *gere*, *agebe*; XVII *agefe*, *gefe*, *begetan*; XVIII *forgef*, *gefe*, *agefe*, *gere*, *ceses*; XXI *begæt*, *scæpa*, *agefe(n)*, *gere*, *ceses*, *scep*, *forgefefe*, *gefe*, *wærgeld*; XXII *agefe(n)*, *ceses*; XXIII *begæt*, *agefe*.

i-umlaut. (§§158-192)

ǣ > ě.¹⁸

VIII *gebycge*, *cyninges*; IX *Cantuarabyrg*, *hyhte*, *ymb*; X *ymb*, *brytniæ*, *nytt*, *æfterfylgendum*, *byrg*, *gemynen*, *cynlic*, *ðynce*; XI *byrg*, *Geardcylle* (place name); XII *Suðmynstre*; XIII *byrg*;¹⁹

¹⁵ ǣ instead of ěa may be due to weakness of stress; cf. *Sievers* 43:2, b. Cf. also note 16 below.

¹⁶ If ǣ instead of broken diphthong is not here a miswriting, it is probably due to weakness of stress; cf. note 15 above. But cf. also unbroken *barna*: *beorn* in No. XVII.

¹⁷ *sylfum* also occurs; cf. note 10.

¹⁸ But cf. note 8.

¹⁹ In contemporary endorsement; included in O. E. T.

XVII *ymbc*, *cyn(nes)*, *nythicas*[*t*], *ðynce*; XVIII *ymb*; XXI *ymb*, *cynne*, *nytt*, *mynster*, *yferran*, *cyðe*, *ðy*, *cy*; XXII *ymb*, *ðy*; XXIII *cyðo*, *cyniŋ*, *mundbyrde*, *gemynen*; XXIV *cyniges*, *cyniŋges*; XXV *nyt*; XXVI *cyniŋges*.

$\bar{o} > \bar{o}e$, rarely \bar{e} .

VI *boec*; VIII *boega*, *gerefa*; IX *doeð*²⁰ X *boega*, *goes*, *soelest*, *doeð*; XIII *boec*; XV *goes*; XVII *boem*,²¹ *soelest*; XVIII *soecende*, *goes*; XIX *bledsiung*; XXI *geroefa*; XXII *soel*; XXIII *soelest*, *boecum*.

$\bar{o} > \bar{o}e$.

XVI *doehter*.

$\bar{a} > \bar{a}$, \bar{e} .

VIII *aræddan*, *nænig*, *gedæle*, *æhte*, *ðam*, *bam*; IX *ðære*,²² *hela*, *ðem*, *ðere*; X *ðam*, *huaetenra*, *aegera*, *gemænum*, *mæst*, *ðære*, *æghwile*, *tuægen*;²³ *ðem*, *gedele*, *clenra*, *ðere*; XV *ðem*, *elce*, *eghwylce*; XVI *awege*, *elce*, *ðem*; XVII *neniggra*, *ðem*, *er*, *enig*, *mest*; XVIII *ælce*; *ðem*, *eihwelc*; XIX *ðam*; *forðleste*, *lestan*, *agcle*, *ðem*; XXI *ænig*, *æne*, *ælce*, *alcum*, *tuægen*; *clennisse*, *ðem*, *hemed*, *gedele*, *redenne*; XXII *ðam*, *gelæste(n)*; *ðem*; XXIII *ærist*, *ðam*, *ær*, *ðære*; *leste*, *meste*, *ðere*, *gerece*.

$\bar{æ}$ before single consonant $> \bar{e}$, $\bar{æ}$.²⁴

²⁰ Or is this $\bar{o} + eð$, the unsyncope ending? Cf. Sievers §§371, 429, and note 40 under Contractions.

²¹ *boem* is placed here on the assumption that it is not a miswriting for *bæm*, the usual form (which occurs in No. VIII), but that its vowel represents *i*-umlaut of original \bar{o} , (which appears regularly in the neuter *bū* $< *b\bar{o}$, as in *tū* $< *t\bar{w}\bar{o}$; Sievers § 60 an.). $\bar{o}e$ instead of $\bar{æ}$ may, however, be an analogical introduction from other cases; cf. *boega* in Nos. VIII and X. In this charter the *i*-umlaut of O. E. $\bar{a} < ai$ appears consistently as \bar{e} —*neniggra*, *ðem*, *er*, *enig*, *mest*. Cf. also note 23 below.

²² The vowel of *ðære*, *ðere* (feminine genitive-dative singular) cannot be definitely determined. As in West Saxon, it may be *i*-umlaut of $\bar{a} < W.$ Germ. *ai* (**paizjos*); or corresponding to Gothic *þizos*, be W. Germ. \bar{e} ; or, a levelling into the feminine of the vowel of the masculine and neuter genitive (West Saxon *þæs*), be W. Germ. \bar{a} .

²³ This assumes that *tuægen* is from **twaij-* $< *tuajj-$, as found in the Gothic genitive *twaddje*, and that it is not a mere miswriting for *twegen*. Normal *twegen* may owe its vowel to *i*-umlaut of *twō*, the unumlauted form of which appears in *tū* $< *twū$ $< *tw\bar{o}$. Cf. note 21 above.

²⁴ *hwelc* (*hwile*) and *swelc* (*swile*) are, at least in part, to be placed here; though not all the varying forms of the vowel are the results of *i*-umlaut of $\bar{æ}$. Bülbring, §438, suggests **swalik* and **χwalik* and §496, **swilik*; Sievers,

Before a single consonant, the *i*-umlaut of *ǣ* appears usually as *ě*, but in the following instances it appears as *ǣ*: IX *tuǣlfmonað*;²⁵ X *tuǣlfmonað*; XXI *salle, alles*; XXVI *handsælen*.

ǣ before *st* > *ě*.

XVII *festnie*; XVIII *festnie*, XIX *gefestnie*; XXI *festnie*; XXIII *befestan, festnie, liffest*.

ǣ > *ě*.²⁶

VIII *leng*; IX *menn*; X *hennfuglas*; XV *henfugla*; XVI *pen'*; XVII *leng*; XVIII *henfuglas*; XIX *men, ende*; XXI *dene, pending, Cent*; XXII *binemned, hennfuglas, pendinga*.

ǣ > *ǣ*, *ě*.²⁷

VIII *hæbbe, næbbe*; X *hæbben; festen*; XV *hebbe*; XVII *hebbe, hebfað, ercebisceop*;²⁸ XVIII *ærcebiscepes; hebbe, ercebisceop*; XIX *hebbe*; XXI *hæbbe, ærcebisceop; hebbe*.

ǣa > *ǣ*, *ě*.

VIII *oncærrende; erfe*; IX *allmehtgum*; X *uuelesces*; XV *erbum*; XVIII *ærfe, ærbenumena*; XIX *erfeland, erbe, ferwerne, gecerran*; XXI *ærfe*;²⁹ XXII *erfe*; XXIII *ærfe, ærðe; allmehtgum*; XXIV *Wilburgewellan*;³⁰ XXVI *ærbe; eum*.³¹

ēa > *ē*.

§207 an. 6, suggests **hwilic*, **swalic* corresponding to Gothic *hwileiks*, *swaleiks*. Even if the various forms are to be referred to **hwilic*, **swalic*, it is highly probable that the existing forms show confusion of the vowels of the two words. The occurrences in this group of charters are as follows: X *æghwīlc, swīlce*; XV *eghwīlc, swīlc*; XVI *swele, swīlc*; XVII *hwelc*; XVIII *ei hwelc*; XXI *swælc(um)*.

²⁵ Cf. Bülbring §168 an. 2, and observe forms in note 24 above.

²⁶ It is worth noting that, despite the confusion of *ě*, *ǣ* in the charters of this group, there is no such confusion of the symbols representing *i*-umlaut of *ā*; in every instance *ě* occurs.

²⁷ The Kentish confusion of *æ*, *ě* makes impossible the exact determination of the vowel of *hæbbe* (*hebbe*), and the forms are placed here only in order to follow consistently Bülbring's arrangement. Upon this subject see Bülbring, §177 and *Beiblatt* IX, 93 f., and Sievers, *Zum ags. Vocalismus* 14 ff.

²⁸ Cf. Sievers §79 an. 3, and Bülbring §178. In VIII occur *arcebiscope, archibiscop*, which probably show direct influence of Latin *archi*.

²⁹ According to C. S., a contemporary endorsement has *arfe*, which is probably miswritten for *ærfe*; O. E. T. prints *ærfe* and states that the *æ* may be *a*.

³⁰ Or *ě* of *-wellan* may be W. Germ. *ē*; cf. Bülbring §175 an.

³¹ The glossary of O. E. T. gives this as from *ea* = "river". If this is right, *eum* is probably a dative plural formed by the addition of the ending *-um* to the dative singular. Cf. Bülbring §217.

VI *limingge*;³² VIII *Eastorege*; XI *Easterege*, *Eosterege*; XIII *Eastrage*; XXVI *heiweg*.³³

iu > *ēo*.

XXI *weorðe* (also miswritten *weorde*).

iu, *īo* > *īo* (*ēa*?).

XVIII *friond* (nom. plu.); XXI *gestrionen*; XXII *bibeadeð*.³⁴
Smoothing. (§§193-211)

VIII *ēu/h* > *ē*—*rehtlice*; IX *āo/c* > *ā*—*ac*;³⁵ X *āo/c* > *ǣ*—*æc*; but unsmoothed *reogolweord*, *reogolward*, *weax*; XI unsmoothed place name *Reacolwensæ*; XIV *ǣo/rc/ǣ*—*marc*; XVI unsmoothed *fiah*; XVII *ēu/h* > *ē*—*atec* (< **atēha* < **atēuhæ*); *ēu/h* > *ē*—*rehtlicast*; but unsmoothed *feoh*, *reoh**te*; XVIII unsmoothed *smeagende*, *geðeahte*; XXI unsmoothed *gcornliocar*, *forespreoca*; XXII *ēu/h* > *ē*—*sex*;³⁶ XXV *ēu/rg* > *ē*—*berge*.

Contractions

Early Contractions. (§§117-118)

ī + *ū* > *īo*, *īa*, *ēo*.³⁷

VIII *hio*; X *sio*; XVI *sia*; XVII *hia*; XVIII *hiona*; XIX *sia*; XXI *ðreotenehund*;³⁸ *hia*; XXII *hio*; *ðreo*.

ī + *ō* > *īo*, *īa*.

XVII *friandum*; XVIII *friond*, *frionda*.

ī + *ā* > *īo*, *īa*.

³² Miller, *Place Names in the English Bede* p. 72, *sub* Surrey, compares the suffix *-ge* with Gothic *gawi* (stem *gauja-*) and apparently implies their original identity. Chadwick, pp. 4 and 26, 3 apparently implies the same. Cf. also Wyld and Hirst p. 331.

³³ *hei* < **hauja-*

³⁴ Although in the 2nd. and 3rd. pers. sg., pres. indic., *i*-umlaut occurs phonologically, yet *ēa* in *bibeadeð* may be an analogical introduction from other present forms which are unaffected by *i*-umlaut; cf. Sievers §371.

³⁵ *ǣ* < *ē* through weakness of stress; cf. Bülbring §454.

³⁶ Possibly *sex* owes its apparently smoothed vowel to a persistence of Latin *sex* in the consciousness of the scribe. This charter, however, apparently has other Anglian forms.

³⁷ *sia* XVI, XIX, and *hia* XVII, XXI may be properly accusative forms which have been levelled into the nominative, and may thus represent contraction of *ī* + *a*; cf. Sievers *Zum ags. Vocalismus* p. 54. It is more probable, however, that in these forms the second element of the diphthong has been delabialized, as such delabialization is frequent in these charters.

³⁸ Cf. Bülbring §118 an. 7.

IX *bion*; XXI *bian*.³⁹

$\bar{i}+a>\bar{i}o$.

XXIII *friodome*.

Later Contractions. (§§212-225)

$\bar{a}, \bar{o} + \text{following vowel}$.⁴⁰

VIII *foe*; X *gedoe*, *gedon* (opt. plu.); XXI *foe*, *gedoen*, *fon* (opt. plu.), *foen*, *gedoe*, *bega*; XXII *foe*, *foen*; XXIII *gedoan*; XXV (*gē*) *gedeo*.⁴¹

$\bar{e} + \text{palatal vowel} > \bar{e}$.

XVII *atee*⁴² ($< *atēhæ < *atēuhæ$).

$\check{e}o, \check{i}o + \text{vowel} > \bar{e}o, \bar{i}o, \bar{i}a$.⁴³

XVII *ateon*, *neor*; XXI *geðian*; XXIII *ðurhtion*, *ationne*; XXVI *frïols*.

$\check{e} + \text{palatal vowel} > \bar{a}, \bar{e}$.⁴⁴

³⁹ To the stem *si-* Nos. XV, XVI have pres. opt. sg. *se*.

⁴⁰ Although after \bar{a}, \bar{o} a following *e* frequently appears in the optative and *a* appears once in an infinitive (*gedoan* XXIII), still these are probably analogical reintroductions and not evidence against the absorption of a vowel by a long preceding velar vowel. Positive evidence of absorption is found in X, which has in the present optative *gedon* as well as *gedoe*, and in XXI, which has *fon*, *bega*, as well as *foen*, *gedoen*. In X, *gedoe*: *gedon* and in XXI, *foen*: *fon* indicate further that *oe* of *foe(n)*, *gedoe(n)* does not represent *æ* (the *i*-umlaut of \bar{o}) but represents $\bar{o}+e$, as in the present optative there would hardly be an interchange of umlauted and unumlauted vowels between singular and plural. In IX, *doeð* probably = $d\bar{a}eð$; cf. Sievers §429.

⁴¹ In *gedeo*, *eo* is probably only a careless transposition of *oe*; it may, however, represent \bar{a} as in a Surrey (?) document of later date (will of Ælfred, 871-889; C. S. No. 558, O. E. T. No. 45). In this, *eo* appears regularly as *i*-umlaut of \bar{o} in *gefeorum*, *seolest*, *meodren*; and it also occurs in the optative *feo* (twice) by the side of *fœ* (once). Cf. Sievers §429 an. 3, and §27 an.

⁴² In *atee*, *-ee* may merely represent $-\bar{e}$, or the final *e* may be an analogical reintroduction of the optative ending; cf. note 40 above.

⁴³ Except *ateon* (pres. opt.) in XVII, these forms may have resulted from contraction of smoothed \check{e}, \check{i} with a following velar vowel; *ateon* must be from unsmoothed $*atēuhæn$, though in the same document *atee* shows smoothing. Cf. the forms given in the preceding section on Smoothing.

⁴⁴ Because of the Kentish confusion of \check{a} and \check{e} , it cannot be determined whether the vowel of *ece*, *æce* results from contraction of $\check{e} + \text{palatal}$ or of $\bar{a} + \text{palatal vowel}$; cf. Bülbring §§215, 217. To *eum* cf. note 31.

IX *accan*; XXIII *ece*; *æce*; XXVI *æc*; *eum*.

$\bar{i} + \bar{æ}$, $\check{e} > \bar{i}e$, $\bar{i}æ$.⁴⁵

VIII *sie*, *hie*, *ðrie*; X *hiæ*, *sie*, *sien*; XVII *sie*; XVIII *sie*; XXI *hie*, *sie*; XXII *hie*, *sie*; XXIII *hie*, *sie*, *siæ*, *sien*.

NOTE: In XXI *ten*, *ðreotenehund* and in XXII *fiftene*, *ten*, obviously the vowel of *ten(e)* is the result of contraction; its development, however, I cannot explain. Cf. Sievers §113 an. 2, and §325.

u-, *â-*, *w-*umlaut. (§§226-259)

u-, *â-*umlaut of *ă*.

VIII *dagas*; *earon*;⁴⁶ X *aloð*; XI *Reacolvensæ*; XXI *habbanne*, *faranne*; *ðeafie*; ⁴⁷ XXII *alað*, *hafað*; *teapera*; XXIII *ðeafie*; XXIV *burgwara*.

u-, *â-*umlaut of *ě*.

X *reogolweord*, *weorolde*, *begeotan*, *feola*, *ðeara*; ⁴⁸ XIII *ðeara*;⁴⁹ XIV *deono*; XV *agiaban*; XIX *wiaralde*, *hiabenlice*; XXI *begeotan*, *forespreoca*, *ðeara*; XXII *ðeara*; XXIII *forgeofan*; XXV *forgeofu*.

u-, *â-*umlaut of *ĩ*.

VIII *hiora*; IX *siondan*, *hiora*; X *siondan*, *hiora*; XV *weada*; XVII *hira*; XXI *sioððan*, *bewiotige*,⁴⁷ *geornliocar*, *niomanne*, *hiora*; XXIII *hiora*, *gewriota*, *heora*; XXV *hiora*.

*w-*umlaut of *ĩ*.

IX *ðiowas*; X *ðiow*; XIX *ðiwen*;⁵⁰ XXI *ðiowe*.

*w-*umlaut of *ě*.

⁴⁵ Instead of *sie*, Nos. XV, XVI, and XIX have *sē*, and XXI has both *sie* and *sē*; *sē* is probably due to weakness of stress.

⁴⁶ Cf. Kluge, *Grundriss*,² I, p. 435. Sievers §43, 2 an. 2 explains *ēa* of *earon* as from *ēo* through weakness of stress, *ēo* being presumably *u-*umlaut of *ě*.

⁴⁷ In *ðeafie* and *bewiotige* the umlauted diphthong has been introduced from forms in which it had developed phonologically—the present indicative 2nd. and 3rd. persons singular and the present indicative plural, etc.

⁴⁸ Cf. Sievers §43, 2; Zeuner p. 30 an. 2, and p. 64 m. Or here *ēa* for *ēo* may be due to the Mercian-Kentish interchange *ēo*, *ēa*, *īo*, *īa*; cf. Bülbring §§237-238.

⁴⁹ In contemporary endorsement.

⁵⁰ Bülbring §256 an., in discussing this form and some similar ones in V. Ps., states: —“falls keine Schreibfehler vorliegen, *iw* wahrscheinlich für *īw* steht.”

XXI *eawa*.

Lengthening before Consonant Combinations. §§(285-287)

The evidence for vowel lengthening before certain consonant combinations is extremely scant. There are no forms in which such lengthening is indicated by a doubling of the vowel, and in only three charters is such lengthening possibly indicated by the use of accent marks; the instances are as follows:

VIII *érfe* (accent also on *Éastorege*); X *lónde*⁵¹ (apparently also on the numeral *án*); XXI *gánganne* (accent also on *wúf* and once on *ágefe*).

Later Effects of Palatal Consonants. (§§288-304)

Diphthongization of *ō*, *ū*, through preceding *j*.

XI *iocled*; XXIII *gioc*.

Other Later Palatal Influences. (§§305-324)

In XXI *ēa* (<*ǣ* through breaking or *u*-umlaut) preceded by *g* has become *ē* in *fulgere*; the corresponding monophthongization is lacking in the place name *Cealflocan*.

Shortenings. (§§334-349)

There are two instances of shortened vowels in stressed syllables before two consonants or doubled consonants. X *geblitsade*; XXI *sioððan*.

CHARTERS XXVII-XXXII, DATED BEFORE 958—1044×48

West Germanic *ǣ*, West Saxon *ǣ*. (§91)

West Germanic *ǣ*, West Saxon *ǣ* appears in No. XXVII as *ǣ*, *ē*, and *ȳ*; in the other documents of this group it appears consistently—except for a single *ǣ* in *mage*, No. XXXII—as *ǣ*.

XXVII *ðas. at, dag, ðæt, gesæce*, also *mæsse*; *beðe*,⁵² *wes, scel; yftær*; ⁵³ XXVIII *hæfð, ðæt*; XXIX *æt, æfter, hæfdon, ðæt, dæg(e), wæs, hwæt, cwæp, bræc, þæs*; XXX *hæfde, æfter, æt, wæs, þæs, læg*,

⁵¹ O. E. T. prints no accent on *londe* (of *ðæm ilcan londe*), but does place accents over *án hriðer* and *mon ðæt weax ágæfe*. The transcription in the British Museum facsimiles prints an accent only over *lónde*. The facsimile reproduction of the manuscript clearly has an accent over *lónde* and apparently has over *án*; it certainly has none over *agæfe*.

⁵² Cf. Bosworth-Toller, *Supplement* Part I, p. 62 under *bæp*.

⁵³ *yftær* for *æfter* (*æfter*) owes its vowel to the confusion of orthographic symbols resulting from the Kentish change *ȳ* > *ē*; the same confusion appears in *dynuncga* for *ðenuncga* below.

bæd, *dæge*, *æker*; *agol* > *æd-sædon*; XXXI *æt*, *dæge*, *æfter*, *þæs*, *hæfð*, *was*; XXXII *æt*, *dæg(es)*, *æfter*, *hæfde*, *þæs*, *hrædllice*, *hæfð*, also *ælmessan*; *mage*⁵⁴ (optative singular).

West Germanic *ē*. (§92)

Regularly West Germanic *ē* appears as *ē*, but there are the following exceptions: XXVII *ǣ* in *sæstra*, *ðagen*; XXX, *ēgn* > *ȝn* in *dynuncga* (for *ðēnuncga* < *ðegnuncga*; cf note 53 above).

NOTE: *sylf* in XXIX, *sylfan* in XXX, *syllanne* in XXXI, and *sylfan*, *sylfne* in XXXII are not to be explained as *yftær*, *dynuncga* above, but as Saxon forms with *ȝ* < *ie* < *ē* diphthongized through preceding palatal *s*. In Nos. XXIX-XXXII, except for one *selfes* in XXIX, the group *sēl* appears consistently as *sȝl*. Cf. Bülbring §304.

West Germanic *ī*. (§§93 and 98)

In XXVII and XXVIII there is no confusion of *ī* and *ȝ*; in XXIX *ȝ* is written for *ī* in the single occurrences of *syððan*, and consistently in *cyrican*; in XXX consistently in *syððan*, *cyrcean*, *cyrē*, twice in *swyþe*: *swiþor* once, once optative *wylle*; *willan* (noun) once, once *mycel*: *micelan* once; XXXI consistently in *cyricean*, and in the single occurrences of *scyre* and *synd*; XXXII consistently in *cyricean*, in the two occurrences of *synd*, the single occurrences in *syððan* and *cwyde*, and once in *gyf*: *giþ* once.

West Germanic *ā*, West Saxon *ǣ* > *ē*, *ǣ*. (§96)

XXVII *gare*, *mattan*; *cesas*, *medlic* (for *medlic*), *meðe*; XXIX *waron*, *þær*, *mære*; ⁵⁵ XXX *hæringc*, *þæræfter*, *þærin*, *þærinne*, *þæron*, *rædes*, *dæd*, *badon*, *þarto*; ⁵⁶ XXXI *þarto*; XXXII *þær*.

West Germanic *ē*. (§97)

West Germanic *ē* appears regularly as *ē*, except for a single occurrence of *ǣ* in *hær*, XXVII.

⁵⁴ The vowel of *mage* may be a levelling from other forms (e. g., the infinitive, the present indicative plural), or it may be the result of weak sentence stress; cf. Bülbring §454.

⁵⁵ This assumes that *mære* is from **mārja-*. It may, however, be from **mairja-*; cf. N. E. D. sub "*mere*".

⁵⁶ In *þarto*, *ǣ* instead of *ǣ* is probably due to weakness of stress.

West Germanic *au* > *ēa*.⁵⁷ (§§107-108)

XXVII *leafe*; XXIX *-leas*, *east*, *ofteah*, *toteah*, *eaca*, *beleac*; XXX *peah*, *streame*; XXXI *geceapod(ne)*, *ceap*; XXXII *reada*, *eacan*.

West Germanic *eu* > *ēo*.⁵⁸ (§§109-114)

XXX *geseocled*, *fleote*, *speow*; XXXI *leofust*; XXXII *dreogan*, *deoppor*. With *ēo* corresponding to West Saxon *ēo*, *preost* occurs in XXVII, XXIX, and XXXI.

Nasalization of *ǣ*. (§123)

XXVII *landes*, *man*, *fram*; *ðonne*, *on*; XXVIII *ðane* (accus. sg.), *man*, *an*, *land*; *ðonne*; XXIX *man(nes)*, *landes*, *handa*, *pane*, *an* (once); *on* (13 times); *ðæne* (accus. sg.); XXX *Sandwic*, *handa*, *amanc*, *man(n)*, *sand*, *strande*; *on*, *pone*, *pon*; XXXI *land*, *mann*, *manig*; *on*, *ðonne*; XXXII *land(e)*, *hand*, *mannan*, *stande*, *panne* (once); *on*, *pone*; *pænne* (6 times).

Breaking. (§§130-147)

ē before *rr*, *r*+consonant > *ēo*.

XXVII *feorme*; XXIX *weorðe*, *feorme*; XXXII *eorl*.

ǣ before *rr*, *r*+consonant > *ǣa*, *ǣ*, *ǣ*.

XXIX *weard*, *bearn*, *geearnode*; *yrfeward*;⁵⁹ XXX *wearð*, *gewearð*, *asweartode*; XXXI *marc* (measure of weight).

ē before *χ* > *ēo*.⁶⁰

XXIX *seox*.

ǣ before *χ* > *ǣa*.

XXX *gþeaht*.

ǣ before *ll*, *l*+consonant > *ǣa*, *ǣ*.

XXVII *gesealde*, *eallum*, *eallæn*; XXIX *geseald*, *sealde*, *eal*, *ealles*, *ealra*; XXX *eall*, *ealra*; *ælmihetine*; XXXI *sealde*, *ealra*, *eall*; XXXII *eal*, *eallan*, *steallære*; *ælmihetig*.

ī before *χ* > *ēo*.

XXIX and XXX *betweonan*.

Diphthongization of Palatal Vowels through Preceding Palatal

⁵⁷ See also below under Later Effects of Palatal Consonants.

⁵⁸ The only possible exception is in *læww*, XXVII, the etymology of which is uncertain; cf. Sievers §290 an. 3. Chadwick *Studies in Old English* p. 40, 15 suggests that it is from **lawiz*, in which case *æu* represents *w*-umlaut of *ē* < *æ*/*i*.

⁵⁹ Cf. Sievers §35 an. 1.

⁶⁰ See also under Later Effects of Palatal Consonants.

Consonants. (§§148-157)

In XXVII diphthongization is not apparent, in XXVIII there are no forms in which diphthongization would occur, but in the remaining four documents of this group it appears consistently.

XXVII *gare, cesas, agefe, secl*; XXIX *ceastre, gife*,⁶¹ XXX *begeat, ongean, gyfan*; XXXI *begeat, gyfanne*; XXXII *sceatte*.

i-umlaut. (§§158-192)

$\ddot{u} > \ddot{y}, \ddot{i}, \ddot{e}, \ddot{a}$.

XXVII *cynges, wyrðe, forwyrht*,⁶² *geltes, geberige; gebærige; XXVIII wyrðan; net, gegeðe*,⁶³ XXIX *cynegas, lytlan, geyflade, cyððe, seylfe; cinc*,⁶⁴ *Earhðes*; XXX *kyð, agyllt, dydon, fyrmest, scipryne; king*,⁶⁵ *embe*,⁶⁶ XXXI *cynges*; XXXII *gebyreð, cyneg (once); cing (once); embe, Melentun*.

$\ddot{a} > \ddot{e}$.

XXVII *geferscipas*; XXIX *breðar*; XXX *twegen, orwene, grette, gretnege, begen, bletsung*; XXXI *gerefa*; XXXII *begra, twegen, gemede, gebete*.

$\ddot{a} > \ddot{a}, \ddot{e}$.

In No. XXVIII \ddot{e} occurs twice and \ddot{a} once; in the other charters \ddot{a} appears consistently. It should be observed that except for a single *ðam* in XXIX, *ðam* is the only form for the dative plural and masculine-neuter singular of the demonstrative. XXXII has also *bam* instead of the usual *bæm*. XXVII *ælce(s), æne, gelæst*; XXVIII *ðam; gerædnas, lessan*; XXIX *betæhte, ðam, mæst, æhta, ðære, gecnawe, nænne, ær, ænne, gelædde, læne*; XXX *þære*,

⁶¹ *gife* in XXIX, *gyfan* in XXX, and *gyfanne* in XXXI may owe their vowels not to diphthongization of \ddot{e} , but to a levelling of $\ddot{i} < \ddot{e}/i$ which occurs in certain forms of the verb and in cognate words; cf. Bülbring §306 an. 3.

⁶² *wyrðe* < **würði* < **wiurði* < **wirðja*-; similarly *forwyrht* < **wirkjan* with levelling of the vowel of the present stem into the participle; or *forwyrht* may be from **würkjan*; cf. Bülbring §§262, 263 and an. Finally, both these forms may be Saxon i-umlaut of *iu* (from breaking of \ddot{i}).

⁶³ With the vowel of the comparative and superlative (**gengra*, **geng(e)sta* < **gyngra* < **jungiza*, etc.). Or is *ge* simply a miswriting for *geo*?

⁶⁴ The unsynocopated form of *cyning* occurs only once, in the nominative plural *cynegas*; the synocopated form occurs in all the cases of the singular—nom. *cinc*, gen. *cinges*, dat. *cince*, *cinege*, acc. *cinc*,—and in every instance is written with *i*.

⁶⁵ *King*, which occurs frequently, is always synocopated and always written with *i*.

⁶⁶ Cf. Bülbring §454.

gerædde, geræddon, æfre, ænig, ænies, næfre, ænne; XXXII ær, hlæfdige, ænig, lænan, betæht.

$\bar{a} > \bar{æ}, \bar{ē}$.

XXVII *hænfulgas, pænningas, læng; XXIX æftergæncan, sænde; XXX wrencan, penig(es), foragengceon; XXXI peñ; XXXII leng, gencga, awende, awendan, ende; mænig.*⁶⁷

$\bar{æ} > \bar{ē}$, without exception.⁶⁸

$\bar{a} > \bar{æ}, \bar{ē}$.

XXVII *ærcebiſſcopæs;*⁶⁹ XXVIII *hebbe;*⁷⁰ XXX *togædre; XXXI hæbbe.*

$\bar{e}a > \bar{æ}, \bar{ē}, \bar{y}.$ ⁷¹

XXVIII *ældestum, ælde; XXIX yrfe; herewade; XXX hwerf; forwyrnde, forwyrndon; XXXII yrfe.*

$\bar{e}a > \bar{æ}, \bar{y}.$

XXVII *unætnessa (for unæðnessa); XXX gelyfe.*

$\bar{i}u > \bar{y}.$

XXX *gyrnde, gesyne.*

Smoothing.⁷² (§§193-208)

XXVII *geðæhte; XXIX beleac, ofteah, toteah, seox, eaca, betweonan; XXX peah, gþeah, geseocled, betweonan; neh, smeh; XXXII eacan, dreogan.*

Contractions

Early Contractions. (§§117-120)

$\bar{i} + \bar{o} > \bar{i}o, \bar{e}o.$

XXX *agiode;*⁷³ XXXII *freonda.*

$\bar{i} + \bar{u} > \bar{i}o, \bar{e}o.$

⁶⁷ The $\bar{æ}$ of *mænig* may be the result not of *i*-umlaut of \bar{a} , but of association of *mænig* with *ænig*.

⁶⁸ The only instances of *hwelc* (*hwile*) and *swelc* (*swile*) in this group of charters are XXVII *hwilc*, and XXVIII *æghwylcne*. Cf. note 24.

⁶⁹ Cf. note 28.

⁷⁰ Cf. note 27.

⁷¹ See also below under Later Effects of Palatal Consonants.

⁷² There is not a single form in which Smoothing is unmistakable; the monophthongized form in XXVII may be due to Palatal Umlaut, as those in XXX in all probability are; Cf. Bülbring §§313-318.

⁷³ Cf. Sievers §212 an. 2.

XXVII *hioredas* (once), *heoredæs* (once);⁷⁴ XXVIII *preo, seo*;
XXXI *þreo*; XXXII *þreo, seo*.

$\ddot{i}+a > \bar{e}o$.

XXVII *freodome*; XXXII *deoflan*.

$\ddot{i}+\bar{a} > \bar{e}o$.

XXX *bcon*.⁷⁵

Later Contractions. (§§212-225)

\bar{o} absorbs following vowel.

- XXVII *fo*; XXXII *fo*.

$\check{e}a+\text{vowel} > \bar{e}a$.

XXIX *Earhiðes*.

$\check{e}+\text{palatal vowel} > \bar{e}$.

XXIX *ece*; XXX *ecnysse*; XXXII *ece, ecere*.

NOTE: The vowel of *ten* in No. XXIX is obviously the result of contraction, but its development I am unable to explain. See Sievers §113 an. 2 and §325.

$u-$, \bar{a} -, w -umlaut. (§§226-259)

$u-$, \bar{a} -umlaut of a appears only in *ealað*, XXVII.

XXVII *ealað*, *bur(h)wara*; XXX *habban*; XXXII *haga*.

$u-$, \bar{a} -umlaut of \check{e} .

In this group is only one word in which $u-$, \bar{a} -umlaut of \check{e} could occur—*sweostor* in XXX.

$u-$, \bar{a} -umlaut of \ddot{i} .

XXVII *gewita*; XXX *heora* (also analogical *heom*), *seolfor*; *niman*, *þison* (dat. plu.), *syððan*; XXXI *swutelað* (<**swiutolað* <**switulað*); *þisū*, *þissa*; XXXII *heora* (also analogical *heom*), *swutelað*; *þisum*, *þissa*, *þisan*.

⁷⁴ In XXVIII and in all other charters of this group, this word—which occurs at least once in each charter—has the simple vowel \ddot{i} . Sievers (§43 an. 4) calls *hiored* Anglian. In XXVII *io* of *hiowum* may be due to association with *hiored*.

⁷⁵ No. XXVII has from the stem *bī-* the optative *bio* and from **si-* it has *sio*, *sia*; No. XXXII has *beo*. These are all probably analogical formations; *bio*, *beo*, possibly being influenced by such verbs as *gan* and the contract verbs in which the optative singular has the same form as the infinitive except for final *n*, and *sio*, *sia* almost certainly being formed on the model of *bio*, *bia*.

w-umlaut of *ě*.⁷⁶

In this group is only one word in which *w*-umlaut is possible —*þeowan* in XXXII.

Effects of Labial Anlaut. (§§260-283)

wū > *wu*.

XXVII *wyrðe*, *forwyrht*;⁷⁷ XXVIII *wyrðan*;⁷⁷ XXXI and XXXII *swutelað*.

wēo-, *fēo-* remain.

XXVII and XXVIII *feorme*; XXIX *weorðe*; XXXI *sweostor*.

wier- > *wyr-*.

XXX *forwyrnde*, *forwyrndon*.

wyr- remains or becomes *wur-*.

XXVII *wyrðe*, *forwyrht*; XXVIII *wyrðan*; XXX *forwyrnde*, *forwyrndon*; *wurðe*.

wor- remains.

XXXII *worhte*, *geworhton*.

wi- occasionally becomes *wy-*.⁷⁸

XXVII *cwide*, *gewita*; XXIX *bewitenne*, *cwide(leas)*, *wif*, *gewitnesse*, *witena*; XXX *willan*, *swiðor*, *wiste*, *gewitnesse*, *swincð wisan*; *wylle* (optative), *swype*; XXXI *gewitnesse*; XXXII *wille*, *gewitnesse*; *cwyde*.

Two other changes may be placed here as the result of labial influence. In XXVII *gofol* instead of normal *gafol* occurs twice; if *o* is not a miswriting, it is probably due to the influence of the following *f*. In XXXII *forewyrð* appears three times instead of normal *foreweard* (in XXVII the proper name *Æðelwyrð* occurs four times). In *-wyrð*, *ȳ* comes from *ěa* weakened to *ě*; cf. Sievers §43, 3. In XXVII, which is strongly Kentish, *ȳ* for *ě* may be explained as in *yftær* (cf. note 53 under W. Germ. *ǣ*), but hardly so in No. XXXII, which except for the place name

⁷⁶ To *læuw* in XXVII which may possibly show *w*-umlaut, cf. under W. Germ. *eu*, note 58.

⁷⁷ Cf. note 62.

⁷⁸ With forms given here should be compared those given in the paragraph on W. Germ. *ī*; from these it is apparent that in Nos. XXIX-XXXII there is wide confusion of *ī* and *ȳ*.

Meleuntun is distinctly Saxon; in the latter, probably *ē* is rounded to *ȳ* through the preceding *w*.

Later Effects of Palatal Consonants. (§§288-324)

Diphthongization of Velar Vowels through *j*, *sc*.

The only instance of possible diphthongization of a velar vowel through *j* is in *gegeðe*, No. XXVIII. If correctly written, it represents an undiphthongized form (Cf. note 63 under *i*-umlaut).

After *sc*-diphthongization of *o* and *u* appears in XXX *sceolde*, *sceoldon*,⁷⁹ and in XXXII *sceolan* (pres. ind.).

The Group *sēl*- remains or becomes *sȳl*.

XXVII *selfum*; XXIX *selfes*; *syt*; XXX *sylfan*; XXXI *syllanne*; XXXII *sylfan*, *sylfne*.

Palatal Umlaut.

īe followed by palatal consonants becomes *ī*.

XXX *mihte*, *ælmihetine*; XXXII *rihtan*, *nihtes*, *ælmihtig*.

ǣ not followed by palatal consonants becomes *ȳ*.⁸⁰

XXIX *sylf*; XXX *sylfan*, *gyfan*, *gyrnde*, *gesyne*, *forwyrnde*, *forwyrndon*, *gelyfe*; but *si* (once), *hi* (once), *hig* (4 times), *hy* (once); XXXI *gyfanne*, *syllanne*, *sy* (once); XXXII *sylfan*, *sylfne*; *si* (once), *hi* (twice).

ȳ (<*ū/i*) through influence of palatal consonant sometimes becomes unrounded to *ī*.

XXVII *cynges*; XXVIII *gegeðe*;⁸¹ XXIX *cynegas*, *cinc*;⁸² *scylfe*; XXX *king*; XXXI *cynges*; XXXII *cyncg*, *cīng*.⁸²

eo before palatal *hs*, *ht* remains or becomes *ī*.

XXIX *seox*; XXXII *rihtan*.

ēa before *h* remains or becomes *ǣ*.

XXVII *geðæhte*; XXX *gþeaht*.

ēa preceded by *g*, *c*, *sc* remains.⁸³

XXIX *ceastra*; XXX *begeat*; XXXI *begeat*; XXXII *sceatte*.

ēa preceded by *g*, *c*, *sc* remains or becomes *ē*.⁸³

⁷⁹ Bülbring §303 an.

⁸⁰ The only exceptions are in the cases of *hiē* and *sie* (optative). To the latter cf. Bülbring §306 B.

⁸¹ See note 63.

⁸² For relative frequency of occurrence of *y* and *i* forms, see under *i*-umlaut.

⁸³ XXVII has *scēl*, *gære*, and *cesas*. As this charter is strongly Kentish, however, these monophthongs are probably original simple vowels.

XXX *ongean* (twice); *agen* (twice), *fornangen* (once); XXXI *geceapod(ne)*, *ceap*.

ēa before *h*, *c*, remains or becomes *ē*.

XXIX *ofteah*, *toteah*, *eaca*, *beleac*; XXX *peah*; *neh*, *smeh*; XXXII *eacan*.

Development of Rising Diphthongs through Shift of Stress.

(§§325-333)

The only example of a rising diphthong developed from an original falling diphthong is in No. XXX—*agiode* (= *āiódē*); cf. Sievers §212 an. 2.

Shortening of Long Vowels and Diphthongs. (§§334-349)

(a) Before two consonants; XXXII *deoppor*.⁸⁴

(b) In open syllable before secondary stress; XXIX *ōrittigan*; XXX *pridda*; XXXI *pridde*.

⁸⁴ The double consonant in the adverb is from analogy with the adjectival *dēopra* > **dēopra* > **dēoppra*.

PART II

THE DIALECTS OF THE CHARTERS

In the following second part of this study, the dialect or dialects of the charters have been determined, of course, by the usual criteria. To these this study wishes to add broken *seolfa* (*siolfa*) as an Anglian form, and a strong tendency toward delabialization of unstressed *u(o)* as a Kentish peculiarity.

Bülbring, *Beiblatt* IX 95 f. and *Elementarbuch* §138 recognizes *scolf* (*siolf*) as dialectal but does not declare it peculiarly Anglian. As, however, in Anglian documents (see Brown *Sprache der Rushworth Glossen* §20) broken *eo* appears consistently and in the later Kentish documents, i. e. *Psalm*, *Hymn*, and *Glosses*, unbroken *e* appears consistently, while in the *Charters* *eo* (*io*) occurs only in documents that show other distinctively Anglian peculiarities, it seems proper to regard the broken form as distinctively Anglian.

The delabialization of unstressed *u (o)* to *a* as in *wiarald*, *broðar*, *earan* (not in the dative plural ending *-um* or in abstract nouns in *-ung*), though it is not carried out with complete consistency in any of the charters, still in them it shows itself earlier and more frequently than in documents of any other dialect; accordingly an early and strong tendency toward this delabialization may properly be considered a Kenticism. It is probably closely connected with the delabialization of the second element of stressed diphthongs, which occurs frequently in early Kentish and but rarely in other dialects.

GROUP I, CHARTERS I-V (679-765)

The charters of this small group contain, apart from personal names, very few English words; consequently the material available upon which to base a discrimination between dialects is extremely scant. In fact, Nos. III and IV furnish nothing upon which to base such a discrimination. Of the remaining, No. I shows smoothing in *recuulf* and no distinctively Kentish or non-Anglian forms. No. II shows smoothing in *stretleg*, provided that in *-leg* the apparently smoothed vowel is not actually the result of weakness of stress. It, too, has no distinctively non-Anglian forms. No. V has unsmoothed diphthong in *heahhaam*, and the puzzling *Ricuulfi*, which may be a miswriting for *Recuulfi* with smoothed

monophthong. These few forms, all place names, do not constitute a satisfactory basis for dialectal discrimination; but what evidence there is would indicate that Nos. I and II are Anglian, and that No. V is Kentish, or possibly mixed Kentish and Anglian.

GROUP II, CHARTERS VI-XXVI (798-868)

The second group of charters contains many documents of considerable length written entirely, or almost entirely in English; this group, therefore, offers much more abundant evidence upon which to base a discrimination between dialects. Certain of these documents, however, present nothing: Nos. VI, VII, XII, XIII, and XX. The remaining will be taken up in order.

No. VIII is strongly marked by Anglian peculiarities, its dialect in many respects resembling that of the *Vespasian Psalter*. It shows smoothing in *rehtlice*; unbroken *ǣ* before *ll*, *l*+consonant in *alre*, *halfe*; consistently *æ* as *i*-umlaut of *ā*; and broken *ě* in *seolfa*¹ It has further the peculiarly Anglian *nymne*² and *earan*, as well as the form *hafað*, which was current particularly in the *Psalter* and in Anglian poetry.³ The only Kentish marks are delabialization of unstressed *u(o)* in *aræddan* and *earan* (but unaffected *Eastorege*, *dogor*); confusion of *e : æ* (<*i*-umlaut of broken *ea*) in *erfe : oncærrende*; and possibly a tendency to level the *eo*, *io* diphthongs under *io*. The original *eo* diphthongs are *geweorðe*, *geleornie*,⁴ *seolfa* with *eo*, and *wiorð*, *priost* with *io*; the *io* diphthongs are *hio*, *hiora*.

No. IX has both Kentish and Anglian forms. Of the latter it has unbroken *ǣ* before *ll*, *l*+consonant in *Aldormonn*, *allmehtgum*, *saldon*; and smoothing in *æc*. Its most distinctive Kentish peculiarity is *ē* as *i*-umlaut of *ā* in *hela*, *ðem*. It has further the form *siondan*, which apparently is found only in Kentish,⁵ and, in consequence of the confusion of *ě*, *æ* found especially in Kentish, it has *ǣ* for *ě* in *gæfe*, *aedleane*. Delabialization of unstressed vowel occurs in *siondan* (but *Aldormonn*, *hlafordas*, *wæron*, *saldon*), and possibly because of conflict between the phonetic tendency and tra-

¹ See the second paragraph of this Part II.

² Cf. Jordan *Eigentümlichkeiten des englischen Sprachschatzes*, pp. 46 ff.

³ See Sievers, §416 an. 1.

⁴ See Sievers *Zum ags. Vocalismus* pp. 33 f.

⁵ See Sievers §427 anm. 2 and 3.

ditional orthography, *-on* instead of *-an* in *halgon*, *towardon*, *ge-manon*. The original *eo*, *io* diphthongs appear unchanged, as follows: *eo* in *geueorðia*; *io* in *bion*, *hiora*, *siondan*, *ðiowas*.

The dialect of No. X is also mixed Anglian and Kentish. It has Anglian unbroken *ǣ* before *ll* in *all*, and smoothed monophthong in *æc*. It also has unsyncopated personal ending in *limpeð* (two occurrences).⁶ The Kenticisms are *siondan*;⁵ *ē* as *i*-umlaut of *ā* in *gedele*, *clenra*, *ðem*, by the side of *ǣ* in *ðæm*, *huaetenra*; unsmoothed diphthongs in *reogolweord*, *weax*; and the widest confusion of *ē*: *ǣ*, e. g. *ðet*: *dæt*, *agefe*: *agæfe*, *ðem*: *ðæm*, *suesendum*: *suæsenda*, *red*: *scæp*, and *haer*. There is no delabialization of stressed or unstressed vowels or diphthongs except in *ðeara*, which is not significant for Kentish as it is the normal form in *V. Ps.* The *eo*, *io* diphthongs appear unchanged except for *io* instead of *ēo* in *priost*: original *eo* in *bebeode*, *geueorðia*, *reogolweord*, *weorold*, *begeotan* and *priost*; original *io* in *iow*, *sio*, *hiora*, *siondon*, *ðiow*.

No. XI which has very few English words except particles and place names furnishes but one significant form—Kentish unsmoothed diphthong in *Reacolvensae*.

No. XIV although written almost wholly in Latin, contains two determining forms—Anglian unbroken *ǣ* before *l*+consonant in *wald*, and smoothing in *mærc*. It has no distinctively non-Anglian forms. The only diphthong is *eo* in *deono*.

No. XV is purely Kentish. It has broken *ēa* before *ll*, *l*+consonant in *eald*, *heald*, *healdenne*, *mealtes*, *ealra*; consistently *ē* as *i*-umlaut of *ā*; *weada* with retained diphthong;⁷ the diphthong *ei* from *ēg*(*ǣg*) in *dei*;⁸ delabialization of unstressed vowel in *sindan* and of stressed diphthongs in *bebiade*, *agiaban*, *weada*, by the side of unaffected *bebcodc*. The original *eo* diphthongs thus appear as *ia* except in *bebeode*, and *io* has become *ea* in *weada*.

No. XVI also is distinctly Kentish with no Anglian forms. It has broken *ēa* before *ll* in *ealra*; unsmoothed diphthong in *fiah*; *ē* consistently as *i*-umlaut of *ā*; delabialization of unstressed vowel in *sawale*, and of stressed diphthongs in *sia*, *fiah*.

⁶ Cf. Sievers §358, 2. To *doeð*, which occurs twice, see note 20 in Part I.

⁷ Cf. Bülbring §264.

⁸ Cf. Chadwick *Studies* pp. 81 f., and Bülbring §505.

The dialect of No. XVII is mixed. It shows Anglian unbroken *ǣ* before *l*+consonant in *aldormonnes*, *salde*, and smoothing in *rehtlicast*, *atee* (<**atēhæ*<**ateuhæ*). The distinctive Kenticisms are *yfter*,⁹ *ē* consistently as *i*-umlaut of *ā*; unsmoothed diphthongs in *feoh*, *reohhte*; the diphthong *ei* from *ēg* in *meihanda*;¹⁰ delabialization of unstressed vowels in *modar*, *broðar*, *dohtar*, *hlafard*, *rehtlicast*, etc. (delabialization complete except in *aldormonnes*); delabialization of stressed diphthongs in *hīa*, *friandum*, by the side of unaffected *feoh*, *reohhte*, *neor*, *beorn*, *ateon*; and *ē* in *hebbe*, *hebfað*, *ercebisceop*. The *io* diphthongs appear as *ia*, and the *eo* diphthongs remain as in the forms given above.

The dialect of No. XVIII is strongly Kentish with only one Anglian form—unbroken *ǣ* before *l*+consonant in *maltes*. Its Kentish forms are the following: *ē* as *i*-umlaut of *ā* in *ðem*, *eihwelc*¹¹ by the side of *ǣ* in *ælce*; unsmoothed diphthongs in *smeagende*, *geðcahte*; *ei* from *ēg* in *eihwelc*; delabialization of unstressed *u(o)* in *gefullumedan*, though the stressed diphthongs are unaffected—*friond*, *frionda*, *hiona*; *ē* in *hebbe*, *ercebisceop* by the side of *ǣ* in *ercebiscopas*.

No. XIX is purely Kentish with no Anglian admixture. It shows broken *īa* before *l*+consonant in *scald*, *healdan*, *gehealdon*; *ē* as *i*-umlaut of *ā* consistently except in *ðam* as well as *ðem*; the form *hebbe*; delabialization of unstressed *ō(ū)* in *wiaralde*¹² and consistently of stressed diphthongs—*sia*, *wiaralde*, *hiabenlice*, *bebiadc*. As these forms show, both the *eo* and the *io* diphthongs have fallen together in *ia*.

The dialect of No. XXI is mixed. The Anglian forms are unbroken *ǣ* before *l*+consonant in *gehaldan*, *half*, *maltes*; breaking diphthong in *siolf*; and full personal ending in *saleð*. The Kenticisms are *beuwtige* with retained diphthong;¹³ *ē* as *i*-umlaut of *ā* in *clennisse*, *ðem*, etc. by the side of *ǣ* in *ænig*, *ælcum*, etc.; un-

⁹ See note 8 in Part I.

¹⁰ *meihanda* and *meghond* each occurs once.

¹¹ *ē* in *eghwelc* is not exclusively Kentish as it appears (together with *ǣ*) in Rushworth¹, and is of regular occurrence in Rushworth². See Brown, *Sprache* p. 69, and Lindelöf, *Südnordhumbrische Mundart* p. 47.

¹² This document shows two early weakenings of *u* in the ending of the dative plural to *e*—*ðisem* and *minem*.

¹³ See Bülbring §264.

smoothed diphthongs in *geornliocar*, *forespreoca*;¹⁴ delabialization of unstressed *o(u)* in *broðar*, *geornliocar*, and occasional delabialization of diphthongs in more strongly stressed forms, i. e., *ðeara*,¹⁵ *hia*, *bian*, *geðian*, *eawa*, by the side of much more numerous forms with unaffected diphthongs; the widest confusion of *ē*, *ā* from all sources; *sylfum*;¹⁶ and *hebbe* as well as *habbe*. The original *eo* diphthongs remain in *bibeode*, *sweord*, *begeotan*, *messepreost*, *geornliocar*, *forespreoca*, and *feower*; they appear as *ea* in *eawa*, *ðeara* and as *io* in *liofre*, *siolf*. The *io* diphthongs remain in *sioððan*, *geornliocar*, *beuotige*, *niomanne*, *ðiowe*, *gestrionen*, *hiora*; they appear as *eo* in *wcorðe*, *ðreotenchund*,²⁰ and as *ia* in *bian*, *hia*, and *geðian*.

The dialect of No. XXII also is mixed. The Anglian forms are unbroken *ā* before *l*+consonant in *ald. saltas* (breaking *ēa* in the place name *Cealflocan*, which is significant of the situation of the place rather than of the dialect of the writer of the document); probably smoothed monophthong in *sex*;¹⁷ full personal endings in *bibeadeð*, *forgifeð*; and the form *hafað*, which apparently was current particularly in *V. Ps.* and in Anglian poetry.¹⁸ Kenticisms are *ē* as *i*-umlaut of *ā* in *ðem*, by the side of *ā* in *ðam*, *gelasten*; broken *ēa* before *l*+consonant in the place name *Cealflocan* (see above); delabialization of unstressed *o(u)* in *alað*, and of more strongly stressed diphthongs in *ðeara*,¹⁹ *bibeadeð*, by the side of much more numerous unaffected forms. The original *eo* diphthongs appear unchanged in *feower*, *feorme*, and as *ea* in *ðeara*; *io* appears unchanged in *hio*, as *eo* in *ðreo*,²⁰ and as *ea* in *bibeadeð*.

No. XXIII is the last of the longer charters in this group and the last that shows any considerable commixture of Anglian and

¹⁴ Unsmoothed diphthong in *spreoc-* appears in Anglian also; see Zeuner *Sprache* pp. 33-36 and Brown *Sprache* p. 33. Bülbring §243 implies that these are analogical reintroductions.

¹⁵ Not all these forms are peculiarly significant of Kentish: *ðeara* occurs consistently in *V. Ps.*; and forms of *beon* (*bion*) with *a* appear occasionally in the Anglian dialects, as does *hia* in Northumbrian. See Sievers §427, 2 an. 8 and §334 an. 3, and Zum *ags. Vocalismus* p. 54. Cf. note 37 in Part I.

¹⁶ See note 10 in Part I.

¹⁷ See note 36 in Part I.

¹⁸ See Sievers §416, 1 an. 1.

¹⁹ See note 15.

²⁰ *ðreo* and *bibeadeð* may have original *io* diphthongs; to the former see Bülbring §118 an. 7, and to the latter, note 34 in Part I.

Kentish forms. The Anglian marks are unbroken *ǣ* before *ll* in *all*, *allmehtigum*, and broken *ĕ* in *siolfne*. The Kenticisms are *ei* from *ĕg* in *dei*; *ē* as *i*-umlaut of *ā* in *leste*, *meste*, together with *ā* in *ærist*, *ar*, *ðam*; delabialization of unstressed *o(u)* in *leofast*, *liofast* (no delabialization in stressed diphthongs); and wide confusion of *ē*, *ǣ* from all sources. The original *eo* diphthongs appear as *eo* in *bebeode*, *beode*, *leofast*, *gefcormien*, *forgeofu*, and as *io* in *liofast*, *ðurhtion*, *ationne*; the original *io* diphthongs appear as *io* in *hiora*, *friodome*, *gewriota*, and as *eo* in *heora*. There is also *gioc* < **jok* or **juk*.

No. XXIV, except the enumeration of the boundaries of the grant, is written almost wholly in Latin. It contains but one not strictly Kentish form, unbroken *ǣ* before *l*+consonant in *halfne*, and this is probably a miswriting, as broken *ĕa* occurs four times in *healf*, *healfne*. It also has *ei* from *ĕg* in *heiweg*.

No. XXV is only a short paragraph and contains but one determining form—Anglian smoothed monophthong in *berge*. Original *eo* appears in *beode*, and original *io* in *hiora*, *iow*, *ew*.

No. XXVI also is but a brief paragraph. It has no Anglian forms. The Kenticisms are broken *ĕa* before *l*+consonant in *scalde*, and *ǣ* for *ē* as *i*-umlaut of *ǣ* in *salen* by the side of *ĕ* in *handseten*, and for *ē* as *i*-umlaut of *ĕa* in *arbe*. The preposition *betwix* Bülbring apparently suggests is Saxon.²¹ The only *eo*, *io* diphthong is *io* in *friols*.

GROUP III, CHARTERS XXVII-XXXII (BEFORE 958-1044×48)

Of the documents in the third group, only Nos. XXVII and XXVIII exhibit more than sporadic non-West Saxon forms. These two charters are strongly Kentish.

No. XXVII has a single form, *hioredæs* (*heoredæs*), which Sievers calls Anglian,²² and three forms which may be Anglian or West Saxon, i. e., *cynges*, *wyrðe*, and *forwyrht*.²³ There is, however, no reason for regarding these forms as non-Kentish, as although from other forms in this charter it is evident that the peculiarly Kentish development of *ē* < *ǣ* (*i*-umlaut of *ā*) had already taken place, yet the *y* spelling may well have persisted as it did in

²¹ §520 an. 1.

²² §43 an. 4 and §57 an. 2.

²³ See note 62 in Part I.

the Glosses, Psalm, and Hymn.²⁴ Kentish, as distinguished from West Saxon forms, are *ē* in *beðe*, *wes* as well as *ā* in *ðæs*, *dæg*, etc.; *ē* (< W. Germ. *ā*) in *mede*, *cesas* as well as *ā* in *gare*, *mættan*; *ǣ* for *ē* in *sæstra*, *ðagen* and *ā* for *ē* in *hær*; a preference for *io* diphthongs, i. e., *hiowum*, *hioredæs*, *bio*, *sio*, *sia*, by the side of *eo* in *heoredas*, *freodome*, *preost*; *ē*, *ǣ* as *i*-umlaut of *ū* in *geltes*, *geberige*, *gebarige* by the side of *ȳ* in *cyniges*, *wyrðe*, *forwyrht*; *ā* as *i*-umlaut of *ēa* in *unætnessa* (for *unednesse*); no diphthongization of palatal vowels through preceding palatal consonants in *gære*, *cesas*, *ægefe*, *secl*; and no confusion of *ī*, *ȳ*. There are no instances of *ē* as *i*-umlaut of *ā*, *ǣ* appearing in *æne*, *alce(s)*, *gelæst*; but as *ē*, *ǣ* are freely interchanged in this charter, no evidence against the Kentish character of the dialect can be drawn from the non-appearance of *ē*.

No. XXVIII has no unquestionably non-Kentish forms; in *ældæstum*, *ælde*, *æ* can hardly represent *i*-umlaut of unbroken *ǣ*, as breaking appears consistently in *gesealde*, *callum*, *callæn*; it must represent *i*-umlaut of *ēa* and appears because of the Kentish confusion of *ā*, *ē*; *wyrðan*, like similar forms in XXVII, may be Kentish; and *ǣ* in *hæfð*, *ðæt*, and *ēo* in *seo*, *þreo* are not significant of West Saxon. The presence of *ē* for *ā* and of *io*, *ia* for *eo* would show Kentish influence; but their absence shows nothing against Kentish character except when the forms in which they might occur are numerous. Distinctive Kenticisms in XXVIII are *ē* as *i*-umlaut of *ā* in *gerednæs*, *lessan*, as well as *ā* in *ðæm*; *ē* as *i*-umlaut of *ū* in *net*, *gegeðe* (?) as well as *y* in *wyrðan*; *ǣ* as *i*-umlaut of broken *ēa* in *ælde*, *ældæstum*; and *ē* in *hebbe*.

As has already been stated, the four other charters of this group are strongly West Saxon with but few Kentish or patois forms. Of such forms, No. XXIX has *ē* as *i*-umlaut of *ēa* in *herewade*, by the side of normal West Saxon *ȳ* in *yrfe*; *ǣ* as *i*-umlaut of *ā* in *aftergæncan*, *sænde*; and *tēn* for West Saxon *tien*, *tȳn*. West Saxon, as distinguished from Kentish forms are *ǣ* consistently from W. Germanic *ā*; *ā* consistently from West Germanic *ā* and as *i*-umlaut of primitive Old English *ā*; *ȳ* (*ī*) consistently as *i*-umlaut

²⁴For the Glosses see Williams *Grammatical Investigation of the Old Kentish Glosses* §§26, 27. In the Psalm and the Hymn *y* spellings are frequent, and in the former *y* is occasionally miswritten for *e*.

of \ddot{u} ; diphthongization in *ceastre*; the previously mentioned \ddot{y} as *i*-umlaut of $\ddot{e}a$ in *yrfe*; and the particularly West Saxon confusion of \ddot{y} , \ddot{i} in *syððan*, *cyrican*, *Earhðes*. All *eo*, *io* diphthongs have been levelled under *eo*, i. e., *weorðe*, *feorme*, *seox*, *betweonan*, *preost-es*.

No. XXX has peculiarly Kentish forms in *dýnuncga* (=West Saxon *ðēnunga* < *ðċgnunga*) and probably in *agiode*,²⁵ and a non-West Saxon form in *hwerf* with \ddot{e} as *i*-umlaut of $\ddot{e}a$. In *embe* it shows *e* as *i*-umlaut of *u*, but this form is also late West Saxon.²⁶ With the exception of the forms just cited, this document is purely West Saxon in dialect. It has exclusively \ddot{a} from West Germanic \ddot{a} , and with the exception of *parto*, *para*, *þam*,²⁷ it has exclusively \bar{a} from West Germanic \bar{a} and as *i*-umlaut of Old English \ddot{a} ; \ddot{y} (\ddot{i}) as *i*-umlaut of \ddot{u} (except in *embe*); early diphthongization of palatal vowels in *begeat*, *ongean*, and possibly *gyfan*;²⁸ diphthongization of velar vowels in *sceolde*, *sceoldon*;²⁹ \ddot{y} as *i*-umlaut of $\ddot{e}a$, $\ddot{e}o$ ($\ddot{i}o$), in *forwyrnde*, *forwyrndon*, *gelyfe*, *gyrnde*, *gesyne*; and *wur* < *wyr* in *wurðe*.³⁰ Except in *agiode*, the original *io* diphthongs all appear as *eo*, i. e., *seolfor*, *heom*, *heora*, *beon*, *betweonan*.

No. XXXI is wholly West Saxon with no Kentish forms. It has without exception \ddot{a} from West Germanic \ddot{a} ; West Germanic \bar{a} , which occurs but once, appears as \ddot{a} in *parto*; *i*-umlaut of \ddot{u} , which occurs only once, appears as \ddot{y} in *cynges*; \ddot{y} and \ddot{i} are confused in *cyrcean*, *scyre*, *synd*; diphthongization of palatal vowels appears in *begeat* and possibly in *gyfanne*;²⁸ and *swutelad* represents a development common to all dialects except Kentish.³¹ All *eo*, *io* diphthongs appear as *eo*, i. e., *sweostor*, *leafust*, *preost*, *þreo*.

No. XXXII has a single Kentish form, the place name *Melentun* with \ddot{e} as *i*-umlaut of \ddot{u} ; as has been said already, however, the form

²⁵ See Sievers §212 an. 2.

²⁶ See Bülbring §454.

²⁷ \ddot{a} instead of \bar{a} in *parto* may be the result of weakness of stress; the pronouns *para*, *þam* may also be weakly stressed forms, or their vowel may be unumlauted \bar{a} .

²⁸ But see Bülbring §306 an. 3. If *y* here represents original *i*, it is an instance of the West Saxon confusion of *y*, *i*.

²⁹ See Bülbring §§301-306.

³⁰ See Bülbring §280.

in which a place name appears is more significant of the situation of the place than of the dialect of the writer of a document in which the name occurs. *Embe* instead of more usual West Saxon *ymbe* is not significant of Kentish.³² The West Saxon characteristics are *æ* consistently for West Germanic *ā* (except in the one optative *mage*); *ā* exclusively from West Germanic *ā* and as *i*-umlaut of Old English *ā*; *ȳ* (*ī*) as *i*-umlaut of *ū* (except in *Meclentun* and *embe*); diphthongization of palatal vowel in *sceatte* and of velar vowel in *secolan*; confusion of *i*, *y* in *cyricean*, *synd*, *syððan*, *gyf*; and the form *swutclað*.³¹ The original *io* diphthongs all appear as *eo*,—*heom*, *heora*, *peowan*, *freonda*, *deoflan*, *preo*.

SUMMARY

As has been stated, the five charters of the first group, which are dated from 679 to 765, offer but scant and unsatisfactory material for the determination of dialect. Nos. III and IV, indeed, present no determining forms, and the remaining only a few place names. Such evidence as there is, however, would indicate that Nos. I and II are Anglian in dialect and No. V Kentish, or possibly mixed Kentish and Anglian.

The charters in the second group date from 798 to 868. Of these, Nos. VI, VII, XII, XIII, and XX present no determining forms; Nos. XIV and XXV have Anglian and no distinctively Kentish forms; Nos. XI, XV, XVI, XIX and probably XXIV, are purely Kentish and No. XXVI is purely Kentish except for a single form that may be Saxon; and the remaining are mixed Anglian and Kentish. Of these last, No. VIII is predominantly Anglian; No. XVIII is predominantly Kentish with a single Anglian peculiarity; and Nos. IX, X, XVII, XXI, XXII and XXIII show a decided intermixture of both Kentish and Anglian forms.

The Charters of the third group date from some time before 958 to 1044-48. Only the first two, Nos. XXVII and XXVIII, both of which are dated before 958, have more than occasional West Saxon forms. The dialect of these documents is Kentish, except for two occurrences in No. XXVII of a form that Sievers calls Anglian. Nos. XXIX and XXX, though they have sporadic Kentish or patois forms, are strongly, and No. XXXI is purely West Saxon, as is No. XXXII except for a single Kentish place name.

³² Cf. note 26.

PART III

The presence of non-Kentish forms in charters of purely Kentish local character is to be explained partly by a reference to the facts of political and religious history, and partly by a consideration of the manner in which these documents were prepared.

A brief presentation of some of the main facts of English political history will make clear that after the first third of the 7th century Kent was hardly ever free from domination by some one of the other English states. According to Bede,¹ Edwin of Northumbria, who had married Æthelberga, the daughter of King Æthelbert of Kent, before 630 had under his dominion all the borders of Britain that were provinces of the English or of the Britons. He was defeated, however, and slain by Penda of Mercia in 633. In 642 Penda also defeated Oswald of Northumbria, and "for thirteen years after his victory over Oswald, Penda of Mercia seems to have enjoyed as great a preëminence over all the other kingdoms as Æthelbert or Edwin had ever possessed, the recital of his acts shows that his power extended into every corner of England".² Penda's reign also was ended by his defeat and death in battle. In 655 Oswy of Northumbria was victorious in the battle of the Winwæd, and "for a few years after the battle of the Winwæd Oswy was supreme in England. . . . He must at the same time have been enjoying a suzerainty over all Eastern England."³

But the downfall of Northumbrian supremacy began in 659 with the rebellion of the Mercians under Wulfhere. He "won a supremacy over all the minor kings of the South and the East. He is found in 665-66 not only recognized as suzerain by the rulers of Essex, but actually appointing a bishop of London without their consent being asked. As to Wessex, he wrought terrible havoc upon it, and did his best to destroy its unity. Æthelwaleh of Sussex, the remotest of all the Saxon Kingdoms, is recorded as his vassal a few years later." Surrey, too, "was certainly under Wulfhere's influence."⁴ It is impossible that Kent, which was almost sur-

¹ *H. E.* II 9.

² Oman, *England before the Norman Conquest*, pp. 281-282.

³ Oman, pp. 285-286; cf. also Bede, *H. E.* III 24 and the *Chronicle* under the year 827.

⁴ Oman, pp. 287 and 298.

rounded by these conquered territories and whose king was in alliance with Wulfhere's greatest enemy, Oswy of Northumbria,⁵ escaped coming under Mercian control.

Egfrith of Northumbria, the son and successor of Oswy, undertook to win back the supremacy from Mercia, and for a time had some show of success. In 675 Wulfhere died and was succeeded by his younger brother Æthelred. Possibly because of an alliance of King Lothere of Kent with Northumbria, Æthelred in 676 cruelly ravaged Kent, burning many monasteries and the city of Rochester.⁶ Green, in writing of this period, speaks of Kent as "sinking more and more into dependence on Mercian kings", and as seeming "to have endeavored to resume its independence on Wulfhere's death, . . . an effort that ended in fresh submission after the destruction of Rochester."⁷ After a pitched battle in 679, which was not wholly decisive though it was evidently a victory for the Mercians, the struggle for supremacy by Mercia and Northumbria was ended through the mediation of Archbishop Theodore.⁸ From this time on, the fortunes of Kent were not involved in those of Northumbria.

In fact, Kent next fell a victim to Wessex. After a year or two of strife between two claimants of the Kentish throne, Lothere and Eadric, Ceadwalla of Wessex apparently had his brother Mul recognized as king of Kent in 686. After the latter's death in 687 at the hands of his Kentish subjects, Ceadwalla cruelly ravaged Kent until his abdication in the following year. For two years after Ceadwalla's abdication, anarchy prevailed in Kent; and not until 694 was Wihtred, brother of the Eadric mentioned previously, firmly established as sole king of Kent.⁹ Ceadwalla's successor as King of Wessex was Ine, who continued the war with Kent, defeating Wihtred and exacting an enormous war indemnity.¹⁰ Green¹¹ says that in 694 Kent bowed to West Saxon supremacy, and Oman states that "It is probable that . . . Kent and Essex yielded him [Ine] some sort of homage."¹² In 728 Ine resigned the

⁵ Oman, p. 289.

⁶ Bede, *H. E.* IV 12.

⁷ *Making of England*, p. 334.

⁸ Bede, *H. E.* IV 19 (21).

⁹ Oman, pp. 311-313.

¹⁰ *Chronicle*, for 694; Oman, p. 327.

¹¹ *Making of England*, p. 375.

¹² *England before the Norman Conquest*, p. 327.

throne of Wessex to his kinsman Æthelheard, and soon thereafter the fortunes of Wessex fell.

Æthelheard became involved with another claimant to the throne, and the difficulties befalling him from the struggle that ensued tempted Æthelbald of Mercia to attack Wessex. The Mercian was victorious, and by 733 had become "suzerain of all England south of the Humber."¹³ The tide turned again, however, when in 752 Æthelbald was defeated by Cuthred of Wessex and lost his supremacy over southern England.¹⁴

But only twenty years later, under the great Offa, Mercia reached its highest pitch of power. "We know that by 771-72 he [Offa] was so far master of the South that he was able to dispose of land in Sussex by charters to which Ecgbert of Kent and Cynewulf of Wessex set their hands in consent, evidently as vassals."¹⁵ There was further conflict between Mercia and the southern states, but after the defeat of the Kentishmen in 774 and of the West Saxons in 777 "active opposition to Offa in South England seems to have come to an end, and for the remainder of his reign—nearly twenty years—he ruled with undisputed sway over vassals who had been taught obedience." Even so early as about 760 Offa seems to have gained Kent, and to have established there dependent sub-kings.¹⁶

Apparently for some time before the death of Offa in 796, revolt against him had been brewing in Kent, and in 796 Eadbert Præn proclaimed himself king. He maintained his independence until 798, when Coenwulf, who had succeeded to the Mercian throne upon the death of Offa's short-lived son, after savagely wasting Kent, crowned himself king of that country. Almost immediately, however, Coenwulf gave the kingship to his brother Cuthred, who reigned until 806. Cuthred was succeeded by Baldred, another nominee of Coenwulf's who wore the crown until 825; Coenwulf himself, however, was the actual ruler.¹⁷

¹³ Oman, p. 331. See also Green, *Making of England*, p. 384.

¹⁴ Oman, p. 335.

¹⁵ Oman, p. 336.

¹⁶ Oman, p. 337.

¹⁷ Oman, pp. 385 and 392-93; Hunt, *History of the English Church*, p. 249. There is a discrepancy of two years in the dating here given by Oman. On

Thus for at least fifty years, except during the short-lived rebellion of Eadbert Præn, the supremacy of Mercia over Kent was absolute, Kent being, in fact, merely a Mercian province. How complete was the subjection of Kent is indicated in two of Oman's notes. The first is: "It has been pointed out that all the coins of Æthelheard [Archbishop of Canterbury 793-805] and his predecessor Jaenberet [763-792] bear on their reverses the names of the Mercian kings Offa and Coenwulf, as acknowledgment of their supremacy, while those of Wulfred [probably because of Wulfred's bitter quarrel with Coenwulf] have the archbishop's name alone and Dorobernia Civitas on the reverse with no king's name."¹⁸ The second is: "It is worth while mentioning as showing the complete supremacy of Mercia over Kent, that Cuthred's moneyer, Duda, and Baldred's moneyer, Tidbert, both struck, undoubtedly at Canterbury, coins for Coenwulf, on which he is called Rex M. (i. e. Merciorum). They are quite different in appearance from the coins of the Anti-Mercian pretender, Eadbert Præn."¹⁹

In 825²⁰ Kent, together with all the other states of southern England passed permanently into the power of Wessex. After this time Kent was not again subject to Anglian control; its history is merely a part of the history of England, which became one nation under Egbert of Wessex and his successors.

A glance at this sketch of the political history of England, as concerning Kent particularly, will show—as has already been stated—that during the time covered by the dates of the charters examined, Kent was hardly ever free from domination by a foreign state, and that this domination began so far anterior to the time when the first of these documents was issued as to make possible a very considerable impression upon local conditions in Kent before

page 385 he puts the years of Baldred's reign as 806-823, while on pages 392-93 he speaks of Baldred's flight before the West Saxon army which had been sent into Kent after Egbert's victory over the Mercians in 825. This discrepancy is probably due to Oman's failure to take into account the dislocation of chronology that appears in the *Chronicle* for some time, beginning with the entry for the year 754. See Plummer's Introduction §100 and note to the year 754.

¹⁸ p. 386, note 1.

¹⁹ p. 385, note 1.

²⁰ See the entry in the *Chronicle* for 823. For the error of two years in the date of the entry, see note 17 above.

the date of the first charter. This foreign influence was for two centuries Anglian, except for two periods of West Saxon supremacy from about 686 to 733 and from about 752 to about 760; after 825 it was wholly West Saxon.

The Anglian influence, which was practically continuous to about 680, and which, therefore, probably affected Kent so deeply as to persist for some time after the temporary attainment of supremacy by Wessex, will help to account for the Anglian forms in charters I and II of the first group, which are dated 679, 697 respectively. If *Ricuulfi* in No. V, which is dated 765, is a misspelling that indicates Anglian smoothing, the presence of this smoothed form may be partly accounted for by the fact that, except for a few years after 752, Kent had suffered Mercian domination since 733.

The charters of the second group which show Anglian influence date from 805-810 to about 863, and only one of them is dated later than 837. It will be remembered that from about 760 to 825 Mercian political control of Kent was at its strongest, and that from 798 to 825 the titular rulers of Kent were actually Mercian sub-kings. These charters, then, with one exception, fall within the period of complete Kentish subjection to Mercia, or immediately thereafter while the effect of the long-lasting Mercian supremacy must still have been deeply felt. Even the one document that is dated some time after Wessex had gained supremacy (No. XXV, dated about 863) may well owe its Anglian form to the survival of an influence that had been so strong and had lasted so many years. It is natural to assume that in the later 8th and earlier 9th centuries the intimate Mercian political control of Kent affected the official language of that division of England as in the later period of Old English history the supremacy of Wessex unquestionably did affect the cultivated and official language of all England.

The charters of the last group, of which the language of the last four strongly exhibits West Saxon characteristics, all date from some time before 958 to about 1044. They, therefore fall within the period during which, after all England had been united under the royal house of Wessex, the various local dialects had been very largely given up in favor of West Saxon as the literary and official language of the whole country. The language of these

last four charters is merely the *Schriftsprache* that was current in Kent as in the rest of England.

In the case of the earlier Kentish charters particularly, a consideration of possibly even greater moment than is foreign political supremacy in accounting for foreign dialectal forms is the manner in which these documents were prepared and issued.

Certainly in all but the latest years of the pre-Conquest period, there existed in England no royal chanceries charged with the preparation of charters; accordingly, the composition of such documents naturally fell to the grantee as the party most concerned in the grant. This seems to have been the regular procedure. When a grant was made to a religious house—as is the case with most of the original charters that have been preserved—it would be written by some member of the house; when made to a layman, the grant would be drawn up by some member of a neighboring religious house, especially of such as might have an interest in the transaction.²¹

Unquestionably all, or practically all documents were written by churchmen, who constituted the only educated class capable of preparing them; and most of them must have been issued from the religious houses within which the clerics were gathered. Accordingly, the dialectal forms found in the charters must in most cases be ascribed to members of religious houses. Because of the international character of the priesthood, including the monastic bodies, members of these religious communities were not necessarily natives of the district or kingdom in which their houses were situated,²²

²¹ See Liebermann, "Zum Urkundenwesen bei den Angelsachsen", *Archiv*, CXXXI p. 153; Brandl, *Geschichte der altenglischen Literatur*, p. 1052; Aronius, *Diplomatische Studien über die älteren angelsächsischen Urkunden*, §1, pp. 11-34.

²² Bishops Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, 6th ed., vol. I p. 243: "Besides the influence of common councils and canonical customs, the fact that the clergy felt their vows and spiritual relations to be a much more real tie than mere nationality must have led to the elimination of provincial feeling among them. A Mercian priest was free of all the churches. A Mercian or West Saxon prelate might rule at Canterbury; the bishop of East Anglia might be a Kentish man, and a South Saxon rule at Rochester." A note to the above adds: "Instances of the international character of the priesthood, and especially of monasticism, are abundant. Deusdedit, the sixth archbishop of Canterbury, was a West Saxon; Tatwine, the ninth, was a Mercian (Bede *H. E.* V, 20, 23); and after the time of

and, therefore, documents emanating from a monastery or other religious community situated in a certain kingdom or province might be written by a cleric not a native of that particular kingdom or province, and thus might show dialectal forms belonging properly to a different territory. To speak in particular terms, a document issued from a Kentish monastery might be written by a Kentishman whose native dialect had become contaminated with foreign forms through the writer's association with foreign inmates of his house, or, indeed, be written by a cleric not a native of Kent, and thus show a dialect distinctly foreign.

Normally, of course, the membership of a religious community would consist very largely of natives of the region within which such community was situated. But extraordinary circumstances, as is well known, could and did attract foreign clerics in very considerable numbers. At all times subsequent to the determination that the Archbishop of Canterbury was the head of the whole English church, the mere fact that Canterbury was the religious capital of all England must have drawn churchmen to the religious houses in Canterbury and its vicinity. During and preceding the periods within which fall the dates of the first two groups of charters, this consideration, reinforced by others, must have drawn into Kent many foreign clerics, particularly Northumbrians and Mercians.

In the first place, the Roman Communion of the Christian Church was first established in Kent. Its conflict with the British Communion, which had been the church of Northumbria and the Midlands, was settled in its favor by the synod at Whitby in 664, and soon thereafter all Christian England accepted the Roman Communion and acknowledged the supremacy of the see of Canter-

Alfred the archbishops were generally West Saxon. Pecthelm, the deacon of Aldhelm, was made bishop of Whithern; Boniface, a Kentishman, was bishop of East Anglia; Damian, a South Saxon, was Bishop of Rochester." Hunt, *A History of the English Church*, p. 251, describes the same condition in similar fashion, adding to the list of non-native bishops the Northumbrian Caedda, who became bishop of the Mercians, and calling attention to the probability that Pecthelm, Aldhelm's deacon in Wessex and later bishop of Whitherne, was a Northumbrian. The same authority in his article upon Archbishop Bregwine in the *Dictionary of National Biography* states that he was "the son of noble parents dwelling in the Old Saxon land."

bury.²³ In consequence of this settlement of the affairs of the church, it is extremely probable that many eager or ambitious churchmen were attracted into Kent, particularly from Northumbria and Mercia, which had previously been attached to the British Communion.

Soon after the arrival of Archbishop Theodore in England in 669, an even more powerful attraction began to exert itself, namely, the great school that he established in Canterbury.²⁴ Bede, although he never went away from his own monastery at Jarrow, writes as though he knew personally former students of the school. Among non-Kentish pupils of Theodore at this school in Canterbury were Oftfor, later bishop of Worcester,²⁵ and Aldhelm.²⁶ The former was apparently a Northumbrian, as he studied first in the monasteries of Hilda at Hartlepool and Whitby, the latter a member of the royal family of Wessex. Aldhelm gives proof—other than by his own attendance—of the drawing power of the school. He describes Theodore as surrounded by a class of Irish students who were learning grammar, chronography, and the practice of logic and philosophy.²⁷ Many of the students who were not natives of Kent must have remained for some time as inmates, and not a few probably became permanently members of the numerous religious houses in Canterbury and elsewhere in Kent.

A third circumstance that must have drawn non-Kentish clerics to Kent and particularly to Canterbury is the fact that many of the archbishops of Canterbury were foreigners—after the time of Alfred the archbishops were regularly West Saxons, and even before that time many of them were not natives of Kent; and these foreigners would naturally be accompanied by attendants and fol-

²³ Bede, *H. E.*, IV 2, calls Theodore, who entered upon his duties as archbishop in 669, the first archbishop whom all the English church obeyed. Wighard had been selected by Oswy of Northumbria and Ecgbert of Wessex "cum electione et consensu sanctae ecclesiae gentis Anglorum quatinus accepto ipse gradu archiepiscopatus catholicos per omnem Britanniam ecclesiis Anglorum ordinare posset antistites," but died before his ordination. *H. E.*, III 29.

²⁴ Bede, *H. E.*, IV 2. See also Hunt, *History of the English Church*, p. 136.

²⁵ Bede, *H. E.* IV 21 (23).

²⁶ Bishop Stubbs in *D. C. B.* I pp. 78-79 and IV p. 931 *sub* Theodorus.

²⁷ *Epistula ad Eahfrid* cited by Bishop Stubbs in *D. C. B.* IV p. 931.

lowers of their own nationality. This circumstance becomes particularly significant when it is considered that many of the charters of the second and third groups contain provisions in favor of Christ Church, the cathedral church, and accordingly were probably drawn by clerics immediately connected with the archbishops.

It is impossible to determine beyond controversy the nationality of all the archbishops between 679 and 805, the period within which and following which fall the charters showing Anglian forms, but it is certain that one was a Mercian and probable that several were of that nationality. Theodore (669-690) was a Cilician. The nationality of Berhtwald (693-731) has not been determined, but he had been abbot of Reculver in Kent.²⁸ Of the three primates in immediate succession to Berhtwald, the first, Tatwine (731-734), was certainly a Mercian;²⁹ the second, Nothelm (734-740), was probably of that nationality, as he had been priest of the Church of London, at that time a Mercian city;³⁰ and Cuthbert (740-758) was translated from the Mercian see of Hereford.³¹ All three probably owed their elevation to Æthelbald of Mercia.³² Cuthbert's successor, Bregwine (759-765), was a native of the "Old Saxon land"³³ Jænbert (765-792), as he had been abbot of St. Augustine's in Canterbury, was probably a native of Kent.³⁴ His successor, Æthelheard (793-805), apparently was a Mercian.³⁵ Wulfred (805-832) was

²⁸ Bede, *H. E.* V 8. Berewald, abbot of Reculver, is the recipient of the grant in the first charter of this study.

²⁹ Bede, *H. E.* V 23. See also Bishop Stubbs in *D. C. B.* IV pp. 804-805.

³⁰ Bede, *H. E.* I preface; Stubbs, *D. C. B.* IV p. 54.

³¹ Hunt, *D. N. B.* XIII 362 f., and *History of the English Church*, p. 230; Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, III p. 340.

³² Hunt, *History of the English Church*, p. 230.

³³ Hunt in *D. N. B.* VI pp. 253-254.

³⁴ Bishop Stubbs in *D. C. B.* III pp. 336-338.

³⁵ Symeon of Durham, cited by Bishop Stubbs in *D. C. B.* II pp. 223 ff., has the entry under the year 791: "Abbas vero Ethelherdus Hludensis monasterii." Bishop Stubbs states that this monastery "may either have been some obscure place as e. g. Lydd in Kent, or a more important one, such as Louth in Lincolnshire; but there is no such record of the existence of any monastic foundation at this early period in either of those places. It may be argued in favor of Louth that Ethelhard must almost of necessity have been a Mercian abbot, as it would be impossible for Offa, in the existing state of affairs, to have allowed the appointment of a West Saxon or a Kentishman, and the later attitude of the Kentish men toward Ethelhard

probably a Kentishman.³⁶ He was succeeded by Feologeld, who had been abbot of one of the Kentish monasteries.³⁷ He lived but a few months after his elevation to the primacy, and was followed by Ceolnoth (833-870). The latter, it has been suggested, was a West Saxon, and owed his elevation to Egbert of Wessex, who had become supreme in Southern England.³⁸ Ceolnoth was the last archbishop of Canterbury in the period covered by the dates of the first two groups of charters in which Anglian forms abound.

With the exception of Oda, who is said to have been the son of a Dane but to have been adopted by one of Alfred's nobles,³⁹ all the Canterbury primates during the years in which were issued the charters of the third group were West Saxon; this, indeed, was regularly the case after the time of Alfred.⁴⁰ They were Oda (942-958), Dunstan (960-988), Æthelnoth (1020-1038), and Eadsige (1038-1050).

The part played by the influences outlined above in attracting to the Kentish religious communities natives of other parts of England than Kent, and, consequently, in accounting for the presence of non-Kentish forms in the charters, is made apparent by a comparison of the dates of the charters showing those foreign forms with the periods in which these influences would be operative.

In the first group of charters, Nos. I and II, which are dated 679, 697 respectively, apparently show Anglian forms. These fall within the period immediately following the synod at Whitby, a convocation which, by establishing the supremacy of the Archbishop of Canterbury, directed the interest of the whole English church, and particularly that of Northumbria and Mercia, to Canterbury. A natural consequence would be the attraction of many clerics to

shows that he did not belong to the patriotic party." Similarly as to Æthelheard's nationality in Haddan and Stubbs *Councils* III p. 467; Hunt in *D. N. B.* XVIII p. 23; and Oman p. 343.

³⁶ Bishop Stubbs in *D. C. B.* IV p. 1195, and Haddan and Stubbs *Councils* III p. 557 note a.

³⁷ Bishop Stubbs in *D. C. B.* II p. 504, and Haddan and Stubbs *Councils* III p. 609.

³⁸ Hunt, *History of the English Church*, p. 254 and note 1.

³⁹ Hunt in *D. N. B.* XLI p. 421.

⁴⁰ This statement leaves out of account Ælfsige and Brihthelm, who between them held the archiepiscopate for only about one year.

Canterbury and its environs. Further, both documents were written while Archbishop Theodore's school was drawing to Canterbury large numbers of foreign students, many of whom probably became more or less permanent inmates of some of the Kentish religious houses. No. V, which possibly shows Anglian influence, though written during the primacy of Bregwine who was not an Anglian, was written a few years after there had been a succession of three archbishops, all Mercian by birth or previous associations.

In the second group of documents, those showing Anglian forms are dated from 805-810 to about 863, all but one of them being dated not later than 837. That is, they were issued soon after the episcopate of the Mercian Æthelheard (793-805). Though Wulfred, during whose primacy most of these charters were issued, was probably a Kentishman and a few years after his consecration became involved in a bitter quarrel with the Mercian king, yet, as he had been Æthelheard's archdeacon,⁴¹ it is not likely that he displaced the clerics who had been in attendance upon his Mercian predecessor. And by the date of Wulfred's elevation, the absolute Mercian political control of Kent, which affected even the church⁴² and had begun long before and was destined to continue throughout the greater part of Wulfred's episcopate, may well have started toward Canterbury a stream of ambitious clerics that was not soon checked.

The charters of the third group that show West Saxon characteristics were all issued during the episcopates of West Saxons by birth or in affinities, and long after Wessex had established itself as the supreme political power in all England.

SUMMARY

For the charters of the first group, the political supremacy of Northumbria and Mercia during the period in which the charters were issued is a factor of consequence in the explanation of the Anglian forms. It is, however, probably subordinate in importance to the presence in Kentish religious communities of Northumbrian and Mercian clerics who may have written the documents. In the case of the charters of the second group, which are dated during and immediately following the period of absolute Mercian domination in

⁴¹ Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, III p. 557 note a.

⁴² See Hunt, *History of the English Church*, pp. 235 ff.; Oman, pp. 341-343, 385-386.

Kent, this supremacy of an Anglian state is sufficient to account for the presence of Anglian forms in official documents, the result being similar in kind to that brought about later by the supremacy of Wessex. Of secondary importance, though still of considerable moment, is the probable presence in Kent of Mercian clerics. The documents of the third group all are dated within the period of completely accepted West Saxon supremacy, and those containing West Saxon forms are dated after the rise of the West Saxon *Schriftsprache*. The fact of this supremacy and the consequent general adoption of West Saxon as the cultivated and official language is a sufficient explanation of the linguistic character of these documents. This character is similar to that of other documents written at this time in places far outside the borders of Wessex. A contributory element in the explanation of the West Saxon character of these Kentish charters—some of which were evidently written by one of the *familia* of Christ Church, the cathedral church—may be the circumstance that at the dates of the charters the archbishops were West Saxon in birth or antecedents.



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